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THE HISTORY

OF THE

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THE SOUTH *in the* Building *of the* Nation

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN STATES DESIGNED *to* RECORD *the* SOUTH'S PART *in the* MAKING *of the* AMERICAN NATION; *to* PORTRAY *the* CHARACTER *and* GENIUS, *to* CHRONICLE *the* ACHIEVEMENTS *and* PROGRESS *and to* ILLUSTRATE *the* LIFE *and* TRADITIONS *of the* SOUTHERN PEOPLE

VOLUME II

COMPLETE IN TWELVE VOLUMES

The SOUTHERN HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY
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THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Chapter I.

SOUTH CAROLINA, 1562-1789.

Early Visits by Foreigners to the Coast of South Carolina.

AS EARLY as 1520, thirteen years after the passing of Christopher Columbus, two Spanish ships entered a wide bay on or near the coast of the present state of South Carolina. A point of land near the bay was given the name St. Helena by the Spanish sailors. A river in the vicinity they called "Jordan." They found, moreover, that a portion of the country on one side of the bay was called by the natives, Chicora. A large number of these natives, yielding to the persuasions of the Spaniards, went on board the two ships. When the decks were crowded with them the sailors suddenly drew up the anchors, spread their sails and headed the ships out into the open sea. Not long afterwards, one of the vessels went down and all on board perished. The other vessel sailed to the island of Hispaniola (now known as Haiti) in the West Indies. There the captive Indians, as many of them as survived the hardships of the voyage, were sold as slaves. The responsibility for this cruel treatment of some of the redmen of America rests upon a Spaniard named Vasquez

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de Ayllon, who had fitted out the two ships and sent them to capture Indians. A few years later De Ayllon himself sailed with three vessels to the river which had received the name Jordan. He expected to conquer all the country near the river, and to rule over it in the name of the Spanish sovereign. This expectation was not realized. According to the stories handed down to us in the old Spanish records, the natives of the country, filled with hatred on account of the treachery shown by the previous company of explorers, slew so many of De Ayllon's men that his expedition ended in failure.

In the year 1524 Giovanni Verrazano, a native of Florence, Italy, was sent across the Atlantic by Francis I., of France. Verrazano reached the American coast at a point near the mouth of the Cape Fear River, North Carolina. He coasted thence southward "fifty leagues" in search of a harbor. This voyage, of course, brought him to the region now known as South Carolina. "The whole shore," runs Verrazano's description of the country, "is covered with fine sand about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills about fifteen paces broad. Ascending farther, we found several arms of the sea, which make in through inlets, washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs." He speaks, also, of "immense forests of trees, more or less dense, too various in color and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. They are adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses and other varieties unknown to Europe, that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance."

Settlement at Port Royal by the French.

Because of the discoveries made by Verrazano, France laid claim to a large part of the continent of North America. From King Charles IX., of France,

therefore, Admiral Coligny, a leader of the Huguenot party, obtained permission to establish in America a colony of French Protestants. Two of the King's ships, filled with veterans and with French gentlemen, set sail in February, 1562, under command of an old Huguenot sea-captain, Jean Ribault. After crossing the Atlantic, Ribault landed on the shore of a river which he named the May River, because he discovered it on the first day of the month of May. This stream is now known as St. John's River, in Florida. From the mouth of the St. John's, Ribault sailed northward along the Atlantic coast. After a voyage of several days his two vessels entered the mouth of a wide bay on the coast of the present state of South Carolina, and there he cast anchor in a depth of sixty feet of water. On account of its size and the beauty of the scenery around its shores, the sailors named this bay Port Royal, or royal harbor, and by this name it is called to this day.

When Ribault and his men landed on the banks of the harbor they found a region filled with stately cedars, magnolias and wide-spreading oaks. The air, moreover, was sweet with the fragrance of the rose and the jasmine. As the men walked through the forest, wild turkeys in large numbers flew above their heads; partridges and stags were seen on every hand, and the sailors imagined that they heard the cries of bears and leopards and other beasts of prey. When they cast a net into the waters of the bay they found so many fish that two draughts of the net furnished a day's food for the crews of both vessels.

Ribault next steered his ships up the stream that flows into Port Royal and took his men ashore, probably upon an island now known as Lemon Island, in Broad River, a few miles from the present town of Beaufort. Upon that island he set up a stone pillar, engraved with the arms of the King of

France, thus claiming the entire country in the name of the French sovereign. Ribault and his followers then laid the foundations of a fort on Parris Island, and gave it the Latin name *Arx Carolana,* that is, Fort Charles, after King Charles (Carolus) IX., of France.

Having thus, with due ceremonial, taken possession of the country, Ribault determined to leave a garrison in the fort while he himself returned to France to seek additional settlers. He therefore made a stirring appeal to his men and, as a result, twenty-six of them volunteered to remain at Port Royal until his return. Ribault left them a supply of tools, guns and provisions, and on the morning of July 11, 1562, having fired a salute to the flag of France which was waving over Fort Charles, he set forth on the voyage across the Atlantic.

The soil around Fort Charles was fertile, but the men of the garrison, having been trained as soldiers, did not think it necessary to plant corn. First of all, they completed the fort which Ribault had begun. Its dimensions, according to the old records which we have, were ninety-six feet in length by seventy-eight feet in width, with flanks in proportion. After their cannon had been set in position a party of men from the garrison sailed in a pinnace up the Broad River to seek the friendship of the Indians. Upon the invitation of some of the red chieftains, the Huguenots went ashore and watched the strange ceremonies conducted by some of the Indian priests and warriors, the peculiar rites connected with a religious festival.

The supply of food left by Ribault was soon consumed. Some of the Frenchmen sailed, however, to the river now called the Savannah, and the Indians of that region filled the pinnace with a supply of millet and beans. Fire then broke out in a small

house within the fort, and their provisions stored therein were destroyed. The Indians generously helped to rebuild the house and also gave the soldiers another supply of food. Liberal presents were made to the redmen, and the latter pointed to the fields of growing corn as indicating the certainty of a future supply of bread.

The men of the garrison soon became filled with the spirit of unrest. When the Indians gave them some pearls and some silver ore, accompanied by the statement that the silver could be found among the mountains to the northward, the soldiers were eager to set out in search of the white metal. The commander, Captain Albert, who, from the first, had been rigid and harsh in enforcing discipline, grew more stern and severe. Then the garrison broke out in open mutiny, murdered Captain Albert and appointed Nicholas Barré as commander.

The Huguenots were now anxious to return home, and as the return of Ribault was delayed, they determined to build a small boat and sail back to France. Resin from the pine and moss from the oak were used in calking the little vessel. Grass and the inner bark of trees were twisted together to make ropes. Bedclothes and old shirts were used in making sails. The cannon and other warlike implements were placed on board the boat, but, strange to say, only a small supply of food was taken. The sails were raised and, with a favorable breeze, the vessel was soon one-third of the way across the Atlantic. Then the wind dropped and for many days the boat drifted with the tide. The supply of food and water failed and the men began to eat their shoes and leathern jackets. Some of them died of hunger. A storm burst upon them and wrought so much harm to the vessel that they gave up hope of making further progress in the voyage. As a last

resort, to prolong the life of the majority of the crew, one of their number, chosen by lot, was slain and eaten. Shortly after this an English vessel came that way, picked up those who were still alive and carried them back to England.

Two years afterward another company of Huguenot colonists under the command of Laudonnière came to the St. John's River in Florida and there built another Fort Charles. Then, in 1565, Ribault brought a third group of settlers to the fort on the St. John's. A Spanish fleet immediately followed across the Atlantic in pursuit of Ribault. When the Spaniards arrived at St. John's River they fell upon the Huguenot settlers, killed all of them because of their hatred towards Protestants, and then built the town of St. Augustine on the Florida coast as an indication of their claim to all of the territory adjacent to the South Atlantic Ocean. Thus failed the Huguenot plan to establish a settlement on the South Carolina coast. The name *Carolana,* or *Carolina,* however, was bestowed by them upon a part of the country near Port Royal. This name remained in that region as a memorial of the French King for a hundred years, until English settlers came to lay there the foundation of a great American state.

Occupation of South Carolina by English Settlers.

In the years 1663 and 1665 King Charles II., of England, gave to eight of his friends the territory now embraced in the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia and the northern part of Florida. These Englishmen, called the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, were the following: Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, the Earl of Clarendon, Sir John Colleton, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley and John, Lord Berkeley. The vast region thus

transferred by charter was named "Carolina" in honor of the King's father, King Charles I., of England.

In pursuance of the authority given by King Charles II., the Proprietors sent out from London in the year 1669, the good ship *Carolina*, and two other small vessels, filled with emigrants. In March, 1670, these settlers went ashore at Port Royal. The proximity of the Spaniards in Florida led them, however, to abandon Port Royal as the site for a colony. The prow of the *Carolina* was turned northward and the vessel soon cast anchor in the Ashley River. In April, 1670, the emigrants began to build a fortification and dwelling houses at Albemarle Point on the western bank of the Ashley, about three miles from the mouth of the stream. The settlement was called Charles Town in honor of the King of England. Col. William Sayle, former governor of the island of Bermuda, was made governor of the new colony. The forests were filled with wild game and the river furnished an abundance of fish and oysters; corn and venison were bought from the Indians, and thus, for a short time, the people secured food. When the Indians were no longer able to offer a supply of corn, the *Carolina* sailed to the colony of Virginia to buy both wheat and corn. Meanwhile the fortifications were thrown up as high as a man's breast. When, therefore, a Spanish ship came up from Florida with hostile purpose, the English defenses seemed to be so strong that the Spaniards returned without making an attack.

In 1671 Governor Sayle died and was succeeded in office by Joseph West. At that time about 400 settlers were living at Charles Town. They had already begun to send shiploads of pine, oak and ash logs to Barbadoes in exchange for supplies of guns, hoes, axes and cloth. Another company of

settlers came from England; some Dutch farmers sailed from the Hudson River to join the colonists at Charles Town; moreover, a great many English people came from Barbadoes to make their homes on the Ashley. Among the latter was Sir John Yeamans, who brought into the colony from Barbadoes a number of negro laborers, the first slaves to enter the province. Yeamans was a man of great energy, and soon became rich through his traffic in cedar logs and the skins of wild animals. During a period of two years Yeamans was governor and then Joseph West was appointed for a second term. In 1672 the streets of a new town were laid out on the point of land between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and in 1680 the settlement called Charles Town was formally removed by Governor West from Albemarle Point to its present location. At that time there were about 1,200 people in the province. In the same year (1680) a shipload of Huguenots was added to the inhabitants of Charles Town. A year later (1681) a body of about 500 English settlers came to the shores of the Edisto River. Other colonists from England, Ireland and Barbadoes established themselves in such numbers in Charles Town that by the close of the year 1682 about 2,500 people were living in the province. Some Scots came to Port Royal in 1683, but soon afterwards their settlement was destroyed by the Spaniards. The year 1687 brought a company of Huguenots who built homes at Orange and Goose Creek on the Cooper River; still another body settled on the southern bank of the Santee River. So extensive were the settlements along the coast, not only in Charles Town but also in the regions north and south of that place, that in 1691-1693, during the governorship of Philip Ludwell, men began to give to the province the name South Carolina.

ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT AT CHARLESTON.

From a Print published at Amsterdam, 1673.

The Plan of Government Proposed by Shaftesbury and Locke.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, was a very active member of the body of men known as the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. He was afterwards given the title of Earl of Shaftesbury, and by that name he is usually known. Shaftesbury secured the aid of the great English philosopher, John Locke, in preparing a plan of government for the province of Carolina. Working together they wrote out an elaborate scheme called the "Fundamental Constitutions" which was formally adopted by the Lords Proprietors in July, 1669.

According to this system of rule, one of the Proprietors was chosen governor of the province with the title of palatine. At his death the oldest of the remaining Proprietors was to be his successor. Two orders of hereditary nobility were created, called *landgraves* and *cassiques.* Large grants of land were to accompany the bestowal of one of these titles. The territory of the entire province was divided into counties; each county was subdivided into eight seigniories for the eight Proprietors, and into eight baronies for the provincial nobility. Four precincts were reserved for the settlers. Shaftesbury and Locke made provision for a parliament, or legislature, consisting of the Proprietors or their deputies, the *landgraves* and *cassiques,* and one citizen from each precinct of the province. A system of courts was involved in the plan, and the chief executive authority was lodged in a grand council, composed of men who represented the Proprietors and the nobles. It was provided in the Fundamental Constitutions that no one should hold an estate nor dwell within the province who did not acknowledge the existence of God. It was ordered, further, that "No person, whatsoever, shall disturb, molest or

persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship."

This elaborate plan of government was never carried out in all of its details. Most of the Proprietors were selfish men and wished to extort money from the colonists; some of the governors whom they appointed sought in every way to oppress the people. The latter knew how to uphold their rights, and they made difficult the pathway of these unjust officials. Through a legislature chosen by the settlers and known as the Commons House of Assembly, the Proprietors were forced to make to the people one concession after another. From time to time the Fundamental Constitutions were thus modified and changed. When Thomas Smith, who was made landgrave in 1691, was appointed to the governorship (1693-1694), the Commons House of Assembly was given the right to originate all legislation. In 1697, during the second administration of Gov. Joseph Blake, the Huguenots of the province were given the privilege of citizenship. The number of voters among the colonists was thus so largely increased that in the following year (1698) the Fundamental Constitutions were virtually laid aside. By this time there were about 6,000 colonists living in Charles Town and along the adjacent coast, and thenceforth they ruled themselves through their own chosen representatives.

Trouble with Indians and Spaniards.

About twenty-eight large families, or clans, of Indians lived in the territory of South Carolina. Two groups of these families held the upper part of the country; these were the Cherokees on the Broad and Saluda rivers, and the Catawbas on the Wateree. The Creeks dwelt in the region beyond the Savannah River. From some of these red peo-

ple the English settlers bought lands and received written deeds containing the marks or signs made by the Indian chieftains.

Near the Ashley dwelt the Kiawahs, who manifested a spirit of friendliness toward the colonists. The Kussoes of the Combahee River were, in the beginning, ready to furnish food to the settlers. Later they became hostile, and an armed force of white men marched into their country and compelled them to agree to remain peaceful. In like manner the Westoes also were forced to make a treaty of peace. Some of these Indians helped the white settlers to conduct their first important military campaign against the Spaniards. This was in the year 1702. Prior to that time the Spaniards had sent two expeditions from Florida to assail the Carolina settlements. In 1702, therefore, Gov. James Moore led a body of 600 white soldiers, with an equal number of friendly Indians, against the Spanish town of St. Augustine. The Spaniards were aided by the Appalachian Indians of Florida. Governor Moore seized the town of St. Augustine, but he was not able to capture the strong fort known as the Castle. Two warships sent from Spain came near the harbor of St. Augustine, and Moore was thus forced to give up his plan of conquest.

In the year 1706 five warships manned by French and Spanish sailors came up the coast from Florida for the purpose of capturing Charles Town. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was at that time governor of South Carolina, was ready to meet the enemy. He had already built a number of forts called bastions, and upon these as many as eighty-three heavy guns were mounted. Moreover, Col. William Rhett, a bold seaman, went out with six small sailing vessels to attack the foreigners. When the latter saw the heavy cannon in the fort and also the guns

mounted on the decks of Rhett's vessels, they sailed back again toward Florida. Rhett followed swiftly in pursuit, however, and captured one of the French warships. Thus failed the first attempt made by a fleet of war vessels to capture the beautiful city by the sea.

A fierce struggle with the Yemassees broke out in 1715. These Indians lived in the region near Port Royal and the lower Savannah River. Persuaded by the Spaniards, who furnished the redmen with guns and knives and hatchets, the Yemassees attacked the homes of the settlers on the Pocotaligo River and killed every person whom they could find. They rushed up the coast towards Charles Town, burning houses and murdering men, women and children. The Governor, Charles Craven, with a force of 250 men, met the savages at the Combahee River and routed a large body of them. He then captured the chief town of the Yemassees on the Pocotaligo.

The Yemassees had secured a promise of help from all of the other savage tribes of South Carolina. From the northern part of the colony, therefore, a body of 400 Indians marched towards Charles Town, pillaging and murdering as they advanced. Captain Chicken led a force of riflemen to meet the Indians, and after a severe struggle the latter were repulsed.

Near the close of the year 1715 the Yemassees called together a large force of savage warriors and again assailed the settlements in South Carolina. Governor Craven was able to lead only about 1,200 armed settlers into the field. With these he marched southward across the Edisto, and near that stream, in a desperate battle, defeated the redmen, who fled across the Savannah River to find refuge among their friends, the Spaniards of Florida. About 400

white settlers lost their lives in this great struggle, but the colony was saved, and thenceforth the Indians who dwelt near the coast gave no further serious trouble. The Spaniards soon afterwards turned their attention to the new colony of Georgia. At a later time, not long before the Revolution, the Carolinians again manifested their courage and endurance in a serious struggle with the Cherokee Indians of the upper country.

Relation Between Settlements in Southern and Northern Carolina.

As early as 1653 some settlers from Virginia built homes on the Chowan River. The Lords Proprietors afterwards named this region Albemarle county in honor of the oldest member of their company, and appointed William Drummond first governor of the settlement. The region about Cape Fear was called Clarendon county, and a number of English people was sent there as colonists in 1664. In the following year Sir John Yeamans was given a commission as governor, with the boundaries of his jurisdiction established in a southward direction as far as the land of Florida. In the autumn of 1665 Yeamans brought a number of settlers from Barbadoes to the southern bank of the Cape Fear River. Yeamans himself was soon afterwards, as we have seen, made governor of the settlement at Charles Town on the Ashley River. The colony at Cape Fear was gradually abandoned, and by the year 1690 all the settlers had departed to other localities. From that time there were only two governments in Carolina, namely, that at Albemarle and that on the Ashley River, and the names North Carolina and South Carolina began to come into use, although the two provinces were not by law thus set apart until 1729.

The settlers in the two provinces had a strong sentiment of friendship towards one another. In 1711 the Tuscaroras, a cruel tribe of Indians dwelling in North Carolina, fell upon the settlers there and murdered more than 200 of them. The people of South Carolina at once offered aid, and Col. John Barnwell marched northward with a body of South Carolina riflemen. He drove the Tuscaroras into one of their own towns on the Neuse River and forced them to make a treaty of peace. Soon afterwards (1713) the Indians again attacked the North Carolina settlers, but Governor Craven, of South Carolina, sent a military force under James Moore, the son of a former governor. Moore marched as far northward as the Tar River, and there administered to the Tuscaroras a defeat so severe that the remnant of the tribe left the Carolinas and joined the Iroquois Indians known as the Five Nations, in New York.

On the other hand, when the South Carolina people were in the midst of the struggle with the Yemassees in the autumn of 1715, some riflemen from North Carolina and Virginia went to give assistance to their fellow colonists.

In 1719 the people of South Carolina resolved to cast off the authority claimed by the Lords Proprietors. On December 21 in that year a convention of the people met in Charles Town and elected one of their own number, James Moore, to the governorship of South Carolina. The government was at once organized in the name of the King of England. This course was sanctioned by the English King and Parliament, and Sir Francis Nicholson was sent over to rule the province in the King's name (1721-1729). During the chief part of Nicholson's governorship, however, Arthur Middleton, as president of the council, managed the affairs of the province.

In 1729 the English government paid the Proprietors for their claim to the soil of South Carolina, and about the same time also bought the proprietary claim to North Carolina. Until this time the two colonies were considered, under the forms of law, to constitute only one province, owned by the Proprietors. After this period, however, until the Revolution, they were administered as two separate royal provinces, having their governors appointed by the King of England.

Charles Town in the Colonial Days; Her People and Her Trade.

Throughout the colonial period Charles Town constituted the heart and the life of the province of South Carolina. As early as the year 1700 there were about 6,000 white colonists in the province, and most of these were living in Charles Town. The dwelling houses in the town, made of both wood and brick, were then located between the bay and the present Meeting Street. The only public buildings were the churches. A line of stout boards or palisades was constructed around the town, and six small forts were erected with cannon placed in position to command the approach from the ocean. A roadway called the Broad Path ran from the town up the centre of the narrow neck of land between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and Gov. John Archdale declared this highway to be so beautiful and so full of delight all the year with fragrant trees and flowers that he believed "that no prince in Europe with all his art could make so pleasant a sight."

From the first, many of the people of Charles Town were actively engaged in sending the products of their forests and of their soil across the seas. Cedar logs were sent to Barbadoes; pitch and tar were shipped to England; oak boards, pine shingles

and tar were sent to the West Indies, and the skins of wild animals formed an important part of the export trade. The swamps and forests of the province contained deer in large numbers, and along the rivers and creeks were found the beaver and the otter and other fur-bearing animals. The Indians shot the deer and caught the smaller animals in traps, and sold their skins to the colonists. Many of the early settlers at Charles Town became rich through this traffic in furs, since they were sold again in England at a large profit. As early as November, 1680, there were sixteen trading vessels at anchor at one time in Charles Town Harbor, but the number of such vessels was soon largely increased. From about the year 1693, when Thomas Smith was governor, rice became the chief article that was sent out of South Carolina. Cattle and hogs became so numerous that they ran wild in the woods. The luxuriant grass of the forests kept these animals in such good condition that they were killed by the colonists and the cured meat was sent away in trading vessels to be sold in the West Indies. During a brief period much attention was given to the growing of mulberry trees and the manufacture of silk from the cocoons spun by silkworms. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was governor of South Carolina from 1702 to 1708, called his plantation Silk Hope. For a long time he made large sums of money each year from the sale of his silk. By the year 1730 the people of the province were sending across the ocean large quantities of raw silk, lumber, shingles and cowhides. At that period they were also selling every year about 52,000 barrels of pitch, tar and turpentine, and 250,000 deer skins.

About the year 1737 Col. George Lucas, an English army officer, established a home on Wappoo

Creek, west of the Ashley River, about six miles from Charles Town. When he left his family at Wappoo and returned to the West Indies his daughter, Elizabeth Lucas, took charge of his lands in South Carolina. She gave her personal attention to the crops of rice and corn and the exportation of lumber. Colonel Lucas sent from the West Indies some Indigo seed, and this was planted by his daughter on the plantation at Wappoo. The first plants were withered by frost and the second crop was cut down by a worm, but the third planting furnished a good crop of seed, and most of this was generously given to neighboring land owners. Large fields were planted with indigo seed, and in the year 1747 more than 100,000 pounds of blue dye were sent across the sea to England. From that time onward, for many years, indigo became the most valuable product of the province. Just before the Revolution the annual crop of indigo amounted to more than 1,100,000 pounds.

When the Revolutionary struggle began, South Carolina's trade in rice and indigo was worth about $5,000,000 each year. Besides these two articles of traffic large quantities of lumber, tar, deer skins and cattle were still sent out. A large fleet of vessels was necessary to carry this vast amount of merchandise across the ocean or along the coast to the ports of the other American colonies. South Carolina had at that time five shipyards and some of her own vessels were engaged in the coastwise and the foreign traffic.

About 15,000 people were dwelling in Charles Town when the Revolution began. She was the largest and wealthiest city in the Southern colonies. Beaufort and Georgetown were seaports, also, and from their harbors many vessels went out with their freight of rich merchandise, but Charles Town sur-

passed every other port on the Atlantic seaboard. The old records tell us that just before the Revolution one could stand on a wharf at the edge of the bay and count as many as 350 sail vessels, great and small, coming in or going out, or lying at anchor in the harbor of Charles Town. This city was then sending out the largest volume of trade that went out from any one of the seaports of America.

Settlements in the Middle and Upper Country.

As late as 1733 all of the settlements in the province of South Carolina were limited to the region near the seacoast. In that year all that portion of the territory of South Carolina that lay west of the Savannah River was organized as the separate province of Georgia. Robert Johnson, then royal governor of South Carolina, wished to open up for settlement the lands that lay in the interior of the province at a considerable distance from the seacoast, and he therefore marked off the entire province into twelve townships and offered a tract of fifty acres of land to each new settler who entered the colony. The first people to accept this offer was a company of Scots. They had dwelt for so long a period in the north of Ireland that they were called Scotch-Irish. Under the leadership of one of their number, John Witherspoon, these colonists went up the Black River in small boats and established their homes in the pine forest in Williamsburg township, near the present town of Kingstree. They cut down the trees and planted crops, and through industry and frugality became a prosperous community.

A little later than the time of the settlement of Williamsburg, some Welsh families built homes in "Welsh Neck," a region located in a bend of the upper Pee Dee River. Later still, some Scotch

Highlanders established themselves in the present Darlington county.

The region now known as Orangeburg county was occupied soon after 1730 by some Scotch-Irish families. Two years later about 200 German and French colonists came to the same part of South Carolina. A company of German and French-Swiss settlers, led by John Peter Purry, established a town called Purrysburg on the Savannah River, about forty miles from the mouth of that stream. From Orangeburg the German settlers moved up the banks of the Congaree River and established themselves among the hills of the Fork country, between the Broad and Saluda rivers, where, through honesty and patient toil, they soon became prosperous. About the middle of the Eighteenth century a great multitude of settlers began to pour into the Upper Country of South Carolina. Nearly all of these were Scots from the north of Ireland, that is, Scotch-Irish, who came first to Pennsylvania and then passed southward through Virginia into the Carolinas. About 1750, or soon afterward, a company of these emigrants cut down the trees and built log homes in the district known as the Waxhaws, in the present Lancaster county, from which point they were distributed throughout the adjacent region. In 1756 a Scot from Ireland, Patrick Calhoun, father of South Carolina's great statesman, John C. Calhoun, led a small group of his countrymen to the banks of Long Cane Creek, in the present Abbeville county, and soon afterward some Germans and some Huguenots entered the same region. One of the early settlers on Tyger River in the present Spartanburg county was Anthony Hampton, from whom sprang all the great soldiers in South Carolina bearing the name of Hampton.

Just before the Revolution the Scots from the

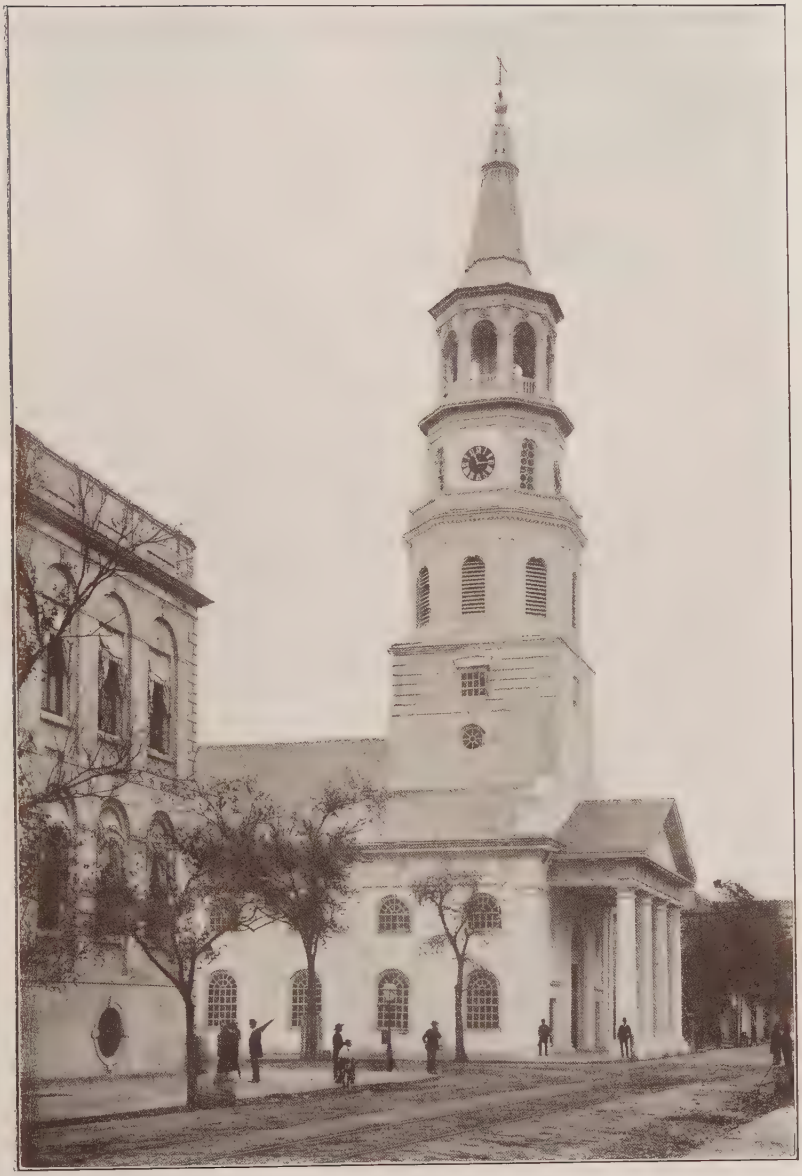
north of Ireland began to sail into Charles Town harbor. They moved thence into the upland country to join their brethren, some of whom were still moving southward from Pennsylvania and Virginia. These sturdy sons of old Scotia took possession of nearly all of the upper part of the province; they had great intelligence and worked with strenuous energy; they fought the Indians with success, and cut down the forests and built homes in the fertile territory that lies near the headwaters of the Broad and Saluda and on both banks of the Catawba.

Religious Conditions in the Colony.

The royal charter bestowed by King Charles II. upon the Lords Proprietors of Carolina gave them authority to build churches and chapels, and to appoint ministers of the Gospel to officiate in them. With reference to dissenters from the Established Church, the Proprietors were given the power to grant freedom in matters of religion, with such restrictions as to them might seem fit. When, therefore, the Proprietors adopted the Fundamental Constitutions prepared by Shaftesbury and Locke, as we have already seen, they made the provision that no person should disturb or persecute another "for his speculative opinions in religion or his way of worship."

The first settlers at Charles Town were members of the Established (Episcopal) Church. When the streets were laid off at the point of land between the Cooper and Ashley, places were reserved for a town house and a church. The ground set apart for the latter is now occupied by St. Michael's Church. The first house of worship built there was of black cypress wood resting upon a brick foundation. It was known as the English, or Episcopal, Church.

The first Huguenot congregation in Charles Town



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, CHARLESTON.

was organized in 1686 under the pastoral care of Elias Prioleau, of France. The first house of worship, built about 1687, was located on the site of the present Huguenot church. The religious worship in this church was conducted for many years in the French language and the Huguenot ministers preached in the same tongue. Soon after 1690 the Independent Church and the Baptist Church were established in Charles Town.

In May, 1704, a party that favored Episcopacy gained control of the Commons House of Assembly and, by a majority of a single vote, passed a measure to establish the Church of England as the Church of the province of South Carolina. It was provided in this measure that every member of the legislative body itself must worship according to the forms prescribed by the Church of England. The effect of this was, of course, to exclude Dissenters from membership in the body of lawmakers. Such opposition arose toward this policy that, in 1706, the Assembly repealed the law that forbade the election of Dissenters as lawmakers. It was provided, however, that the Episcopal Church and its clergymen should be supported by a tax levied upon all the people. The province was divided into ten parishes and it was determined that a church should be built in every parish. The London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent out a number of ministers to South Carolina.

The Germans and German-Swiss who came later to the province were Lutherans in religion. The Scots and Scotch-Irish were Presbyterians, and these, with the Baptists and Methodists, formed a strong body of Dissenters who built their own churches and schools in every part of the province.

Industries and Productions; Rice and Indigo.

The fertile soil of South Carolina furnished the early settlers with abundant supplies of food, to which were added fish and oysters from the waters near the coast, and venison, wild turkeys and other game from the forests. The colonists began at once, as we have already seen, to send across the sea some of the products of their land to exchange for other articles. An old official report prepared in the year 1708 tells us that the colonists were then exporting "rice, pitch, tar, buck and doeskins in the hair and Indian dressed; also some few furs, as beaver, otter, wildcat, raccoon; a little silk, whiteoak staves, and sometimes other sorts." Pine and cypress trees for shipmasts were also sold, with hoops and shingles, pork, "green wax, candles made of myrtle berries, tallow and tallow candles, butter, English and Indian peas, and sometimes a small quantity of tanned leather." The report continues as follows: "We have also commerce with Boston, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia, to which places we export Indian slaves, light deerskins dressed, some tanned leather, pitch, tar and a small quantity of rice. From thence we receive beer, cider, flour, dry codfish and mackerel, and from Virginia some European commodities."

The only manufactures mentioned in these early records are "a few stuffs of silk and cotton, and a sort of cloth of cotton and wool" made by some of the planters for their own use. At a later time sugar was exported; also oil, salt fish, snake root and various kinds of bark from the woods. Several of the colonists made journeys, from time to time, into the mountain regions of the Carolinas to seek for mines of gold and of silver, but no such mines were ever opened. Just before the Revolution there were five shipyards in South Carolina, and a number

of the trading vessels that sailed from the Carolina seaports were made in the province.

When the Upper Country was settled, the colonists in that region began to send long trains of wagons to Charles Town laden with corn, wheat, deerskins, and cattle for beef. The most profitable industry in the Upper Country was the raising of cattle, from which many of the colonists became rich. The usual yield of corn to an acre was from eighteen to thirty bushels, with six bushels of Indian peas that had been planted among the corn. Orchards of peaches, apples and other fruits abounded. Some South Carolina planters had a thousand head of cattle; 200 was the usual number to a plantation. Swine were numerous.

The principal industries of the province, however, were the buying and selling of animal skins and the cultivation of rice and indigo. In 1708 50,000 skins were exported; in 1712, 73,790. Afterwards the number of skins exported was much larger. The trade in rice ran up to 140,000 barrels a year, and the annual trade in indigo to more than 1,000,000 pounds. From all of these sources great wealth came to the people of the province.

Labor Conditions in the Colony; Slavery.

The first negro slaves were brought into the province from Barbadoes by the Englishman, Sir John Yeamans, in the year 1672. They were put to work cutting cedar logs. Afterwards some of the Indians captured in war were held in service in the houses of the planters; some of the captured Indians were sold as slaves among the northern colonies and in the West Indies. Some white servants, also, were brought over from England. In the year 1708 there were 4,100 negro slaves, 1,400 Indian slaves and 120 white servants. Most of the negro men were em-

ployed in the cultivation of rice and later in raising indigo. The malaria of the marsh lands did not affect the health of the Africans, and it was the opinion of the white settlers that it would not be possible to grow crops of rice without negro labor. The South Carolinians attempted several times to prevent the introduction of the negroes in such large numbers, but the ships of New England and of England continued to unload them in the province, and the number of slaves rapidly increased. By the year 1775 there were about 75,000 white people in South Carolina and 100,000 negroes, most of the latter living on the plantations near the seacoast. Their work was not arduous and their physical and moral welfare was given careful consideration by their masters, most of whom were kind, just and humane.

Classes and Chief Occupations.

Many of the colonists were planters, who built handsome houses on the Ashley, Santee, Edisto and other rivers, and along the shore of the bay at Port Royal. They gave attention to their crops and some of them became rich through the production of silk, rice and indigo. Trade, however, soon became the chief interest of the people, and many of the leading men of the province were merchants. Among these were Isaac Mazyck, Gabriel Manigault and Henry Laurens, all of whom were Huguenots. Benjamin Smith, Miles Brewton and Andrew Rutledge also became rich through the business of trading across the seas. These, and others like them, built handsome houses in Charles Town, usually facing the waters of the bay. Most of these dwellings were made of brick and were two stories in height; they were filled with beautiful bedsteads, sideboards, chairs and tables, made of mahogany and cherry, and brought from London, and large quantities of silver-

ware were displayed on the sideboards. Handsome coaches and carriages were also brought across the sea and driven behind swift horses along the Broad Path and other streets of Charles Town. Many of the planters of South Carolina also built beautiful houses in Charles Town and spent the months of the summer season in the city by the sea. Around the houses were gardens filled with the flowers that were brought from the old homes in England and France. Handsome and costly clothing made of fine linen, broadcloth and velvet was worn by the merchants and planters who dwelt in Charles Town. Their wives and daughters arrayed themselves in dresses made of silk or satin, covered with beautiful figures wrought in gold thread. There were dinner parties, theatre parties, balls and concerts.

A public library was founded as early as 1698; in 1748 some young men organized the Charles Town Library Society, which is still in existence; the St. Cecilia Society, a musical association, was established in 1762, and a weekly newspaper called *The South Carolina Gazette* began its work in 1732. There were many schools for youth, and a large number of private tutors was employed, but many of the young men of Charles Town went to England to pursue their studies there in the public schools and universities. At the beginning of the struggle with the mother country a number of skilled physicians and as many as thirty-five lawyers were doing excellent work in Charles Town, and most of the ministers in charge of the churches in Charles Town had received their education in England or at Harvard and Yale. These facts, thus briefly stated, show that Charles Town was the home of a people who manifested great energy and foresight in home and foreign trade, and who possessed a high degree of intellectual and social culture. Their leaders

were men of learning, of charming manners and of worthy personal character, and were controlled by unselfish and patriotic motives.

The people of the Middle and Upper Country had to pass through many hardships. Their houses were made of logs, their dishes were usually of wood or pewter, and they had few slaves or servants. They built their own churches and school houses, and their ministers and leaders were men trained at the universities of Edinburgh or Glasgow, or at Princeton College. These people of the Upper Country knew how to depend upon themselves. They could ride fast and shoot with deadly aim, and when the Revolutionary War came on they did more than any other people of equal numbers to win the cause of American freedom.

Transition from Colony to State.

On March 28, 1735, Charles Pinckney, who afterwards became chief justice of the province, proposed the following resolution to the South Carolina legislature: "That, the Commons House of Assembly in this Province * * * have the same rights and privileges in regard to introducing and passing laws for imposing taxes on the people of the province as the House of Commons of Great Britain have in introducing and passing laws on the people of England." In adopting Pinckney's resolution, the representatives of the people of South Carolina claimed for themselves, at this early date, that right of self-government for which all of the American colonies contended during the American Revolution.

During the administration of Thomas Boone as royal governor of the province (1761-1764), Christopher Gadsden, a successful planter and merchant, was chosen by the people of Charles Town to represent them in the provincial legislature. Governor

Boone asserted that the election which resulted in the choice of Gadsden had not been properly conducted, and he therefore commanded the lawmakers to adopt some new regulations about the management of such elections. When the lawmakers refused to obey his order the governor told them that he would not allow them to meet together. The latter replied that they, on their part, would not hold any further communication of any sort with the governor, and at the same time they cut off his annual salary. Governor Boone then gave up the struggle and returned to England.

In this first contest between the King's representative and the provincial legislature Christopher Gadsden was the leader of the people of South Carolina. In 1765, when the news was brought to Charles Town that the British Parliament had passed the Stamp Act, imposing a tax upon all legal and business documents and upon books and newspapers in the colonies, Gadsden again persuaded the South Carolinians to offer opposition. The legislature came together and made a formal declaration to the effect that no taxes could be rightly laid upon the people of South Carolina by any body of men except their own representatives. At the same time the legislature sent three delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, held in New York City in October, 1765. When this Congress proposed to send a petition to the British Parliament asking that body to repeal the Stamp Act, Gadsden urged the Congress not to ask favor from the British lawmakers. "We do not hold our rights from them," he said; "we should stand upon the broad, common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men and as descendants of Englishmen."

When a British ship brought stamps and stamped paper to Charles Town, the people would not permit

the master of the vessel to bring these articles into the city. A number of effigies, each bearing the label, "The Stamp Seller," were hanged upon the gallows and then burned. After the repeal of the Stamp Act (1766), the South Carolina people erected a marble statue of William Pitt in one of the public squares of Charles Town. Moreover, a party of patriots, organized in Charles Town by William Johnson and Christopher Gadsden, and known as the "Liberty Tree" Party from the fact that the members held frequent meetings under a large oak tree, pledged themselves to fight against any further effort of the British King and Parliament to force money from the colonists.

In 1773 the ship *London* entered the harbor of Charles Town with a cargo of tea. The people of the colony were told that they could buy the tea at a reduced price if they would pay a tax upon it of three pence a pound. The people were not willing, however, to pay a tax of any kind to Great Britain, and the tea was stored in cellars and left there unsold. Another ship came with an additional cargo of tea, but some of the merchants of Charles Town, to whom the tea had been consigned, threw the tea-chests into the waters of the harbor.

On July 6, 1774, a general meeting of the people of South Carolina was held at Charles Town, and five delegates were sent to represent the province in the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia. These delegates were Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch and Edward Rutledge. On Jan. 11, 1775, a body of representatives from every district of South Carolina met at Charles Town and organized themselves as the Provincial Congress. This body appointed a secret committee to take any action that might be necessary for the safety of the people.

On Sunday, June 4, 1775, the Provincial Congress met again and signed an agreement binding the members to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in behalf of freedom. The militia was organized and the sum of $1,000,000 was voted to furnish the soldiers with weapons. A Council of Safety, with Henry Laurens as chairman, was appointed to manage all the affairs of the province. This council, invested with power to command all soldiers and to expend all public moneys, was now the real ruler of the people. Two members of the Council, William Henry Drayton and Arthur Middleton, entertained sentiments concerning freedom far in advance of their associates. They were ready, from the time of their appointment as members of the Council, to drive all of the King's officers out of the province, and thus bring the royal government to an end. Five thousand pounds of powder, captured from a British vessel, were sent to General Washington chiefly through the agency of these two patriots, and this powder was used by Washington's soldiers in driving the British army out of Boston.

On the night of Sept. 14, 1775, acting under orders from the Council of Safety, South Carolina soldiers crossed the harbor of Charles Town and seized Fort Johnson. The British flag was hauled down and the banner of South Carolina was unfurled above the fort. This banner was a blue flag with a crescent in the corner and the word "Liberty" in the centre. Lord William Campbell, last of the royal governors, at once took his departure from Charles Town and went on board a British warship. On Nov. 12, 1775, hostile shots were exchanged between two British war vessels on the one side, and the guns of Fort Johnson and the guns of the *Defense,* a small Carolina war vessel, on the other side. The British vessels received so many balls in their sails and rigging

that they did not venture to move up near the city. Thus began the military struggle between South Carolina and the mother country.

On Feb. 1, 1776, the Provincial Congress of South Carolina met at Charles Town. The representatives of the royal government had been already driven out of the province, and the Congress, therefore, entered upon the work of forming a new, independent government. A committee was appointed to prepare a plan of organization, which was presented and, after due consideration, adopted by the Congress March 26, 1776. Thereupon, the president and secretary of the Congress signed the formal document which declared that South Carolina was no longer a province subject to the King of England, but that she was now, by her own act, a free and independent state. At four o'clock the same day (March 26) the members of the Congress assembled again, and declared that they were the General Assembly, or legislature, of the new state of South Carolina. Thirteen members of their own body were appointed to sit together as a separate legislative council or upper house of legislation. John Rutledge was then elected as chief executive, with the title of president of South Carolina, and Henry Laurens was chosen vice-president. The title of governor was not brought into use until the year 1779. The new state government thus organized was established in the name of the people of South Carolina. She was the first American province among the thirteen to throw off the authority of the King of England and to establish in its place a new, independent government of her own.

The first chief justice of the new commonwealth chosen by the General Assembly was William Henry Drayton. In his first charge to the grand jury at Charles Town Drayton declared that the people of

South Carolina were merely asserting their natural and inherited rights. The people of England, he said, drove out a bad king in 1688 and set up a new sovereign. The same thing was done by the people of South Carolina in 1719, when they cast off the authority of the Lords Proprietors and asked King George I. to become their ruler. When King George III. began to rule with a heavy hand, the people of the province cast him off and were now resolved to rule themselves through their own representatives. The Almighty created America to be independent of England, declared Drayton. God himself was reaching forth His hand to deliver the colonies from their enemies, and to give them freedom. "Let us offer ourselves to be used as instruments of God in this work," he said; by such patriotic conduct the South Carolinians would become "a great, a free, a pious and a happy people."

South Carolina's Part in the Revolution.

When Washington drove the British forces out of Boston, early in the year 1776, the British government determined to attempt the conquest of the Southern states. For this purpose a large body of soldiers under General Clinton, and a fleet of war vessels commanded by Admiral Parker, were sent southward along the Atlantic coast. Early in June, 1776, Parker's ships, with Clinton's soldiers on board, arrived at the mouth of Charles Town harbor. They expected to make an easy capture of the city and the state.

By this time, however, South Carolina had organized and equipped five regiments of riflemen and a regiment of artillery. Col. William Moultrie, with one regiment of infantry and a force of artillerists, occupied a fort on Sullivan's Island, afterwards called Fort Moultrie, on the north side of Charles

Town harbor. The walls of this stronghold were made of palmetto logs supported by bags of sand. Moultrie mounted twenty-five cannon to command the approach from the water and awaited the advance of Parker's fleet. At the same time a force of about 700 riflemen from the middle and upper country of South Carolina, under the command of Col. William Thomson, took position at the upper end of Sullivan's Island to resist the advance of the British land forces.

On June 28 Clinton landed his British soldiers on Long Island, now called the Isle of Palms, and attempted to cross the narrow channel that lay between him and Thomson's small army. Clinton had a number of boats to aid his men in crossing the strait. Thomson had two small cannon to help him in the battle. The aim of his riflemen was so deadly that every British soldier who came within range was shot down; the grapeshot from the two guns kept Clinton's boats from passing the channel, and thus the large British force was held at bay and Clinton's attempt to seize Sullivan's Island resulted in failure.

Meanwhile, on the same day, Parker's eleven warships sailed into the harbor and at close range opened fire on Moultrie's fortification. The roar from the 270 British guns was terrific, but Parker's cannon balls buried themselves in the sand or in the soft, spongy palmetto logs, and wrought little damage. Moultrie's gunners, on the other hand, by careful aiming and slow firing, sent every shot straight to the mark. After ten hours of fighting Moultrie's fort remained without serious injury, and the British gave up the fight. One of Parker's ships was destroyed, and some of the others were injured to such an extent that they found it difficult to sail as far as New York. Moultrie and Thomson thus

WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

won a double victory. The successful defense of Charles Town against the British land and naval forces was the first serious and complete defeat suffered by the royal forces in the American Revolution. The entire British plan of conquering the South at that time ended in failure, and the southern colonies remained free from attack for two years.

In 1778 the British again formed a plan for the conquest of the South. With this end in view a British fleet entered the Savannah River and captured Savannah. A strong British force then began to overrun Georgia and South Carolina. In October, 1779, the provincial troops from these two states, aided by French land and naval forces, attempted to recapture Savannah from the British, but the effort failed. In May, 1780, a large British force captured Charles Town. Augusta on the Savannah, Ninety-Six near the Saluda, and Camden on the Wateree, were then occupied by the King's troops, under the leadership of Cornwallis. It was the purpose of this British commander to march northward through the upper regions of the Carolinas into Virginia, and thus conquer the whole country south of the Potomac River.

The cruel work of Tarleton, commander of the British cavalry, aroused the people of the upper part of South Carolina. These backwoodsmen mounted their horses, and under the leadership of Thomas Sumter rode out to attack the British. The flint-lock rifles of Sumter's men were more than a match for the weapons of the royal troops, and within a period of three months after the fall of Charles Town the British were driven back from the northern part of the state to their post at Camden.

In August, 1780, the army of General Gates, sent from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and North Caro-

lina to resist Cornwallis, was defeated at Camden by the British forces. Sumter's men, also, were surprised and scattered, and Cornwallis again took possession of upper South Carolina. His progress was checked, however, by Francis Marion, leader of a body of horsemen from the region near the Pee Dee River, in the southeastern part of South Carolina. This daring patriot would dart suddenly from the swamp or the forest, attack and overwhelm some detached British troopers, and again seek refuge in his hiding-place. Sumter raised another force of horsemen and fell upon Cornwallis' men in the upper country. Andrew Pickens, William Harden, the Hamptons, and other leaders also took the field with strong bodies of riflemen. The British were thus assailed on every side. When Cornwallis advanced northward to Charlotte, the North Carolinians under Davie, Davidson and other leaders, made a continuous fight against the royal troops. A second British column led by Major Ferguson was defeated and captured at King's Mountain, Oct. 7, 1780, by the mountain riflemen of South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia. This heavy blow forced Cornwallis to retreat southward again.

Then Nathaniel Greene and Daniel Morgan came from the northward to help the people of the Carolinas. Morgan and Pickens defeated Tarleton's British force at Cowpens in January, 1781. This American victory reduced by one-third the number of soldiers in the army of Cornwallis. The latter followed Greene to Guilford Court House, North Carolina, and in a battle at that place drove the American troops from the field, but was himself forced to retreat at once to the seacoast to secure aid from his warships. When Cornwallis turned northward into Virginia, weakened by the long

GEN. FRANCIS MARION.

struggle in the Carolinas, he left a British force at Camden under the command of Lord Rawdon. The American forces under Greene, Sumter, Marion, Pickens, Henry Lee, and others, attacked Rawdon and forced him to withdraw to Charles Town. Cornwallis soon fell an easy prey to Washington and the French at Yorktown. Thus the plan of conquering the South again resulted in failure, and the British government gave up the fight against the colonies. A very important share in the work of overwhelming the army of Cornwallis and of thus securing the independence of our country must be accredited to the bold riflemen who fought under the leadership of Sumter, Marion and Pickens in South Carolina.

One hundred and thirty-seven battles, great and small, were fought in South Carolina during the Revolution. Of these, 103 were engaged in on the American side by South Carolina alone. In twenty others South Carolina took part in company with troops from other states, thus making 123 battles in which the people of this commonwealth fought for their freedom. Besides these engagements, soldiers from South Carolina took part in engagements in Georgia and North Carolina. "Left mainly to her own resources," writes Bancroft with reference to South Carolina, "it was through the depths of wretchedness that her sons were to bring her back to her place in the republic, after suffering more and daring more and achieving more than the men of any other state."

The Work of South Carolina's Statesmen During the Revolutionary Period (1763-1789).

During the period of the Revolution many of the statesmen of South Carolina were known and accepted as leaders in all of the other American col-

onies. Christopher Gadsden, as we have seen, was far in advance of the other delegates, with reference to American independence, at the Stamp Act Congress, held in New York, October, 1765. In a stirring address Gadsden said: "There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorkers, known on the continent, but all of us Americans." The president of the Stamp Act Congress was John Rutledge, another South Carolinian.

The representatives of South Carolina in the first Continental Congress were men of conspicuous influence; namely, Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch and Edward Rutledge. On Oct. 22, 1774, Henry Middleton was elected president of the Congress. On July 4, 1776, four of South Carolina's sons voted for the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. These four were Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., and Arthur Middleton. The fifth delegate, Thomas Lynch, was sick at the time and unable to cast his vote.

In the autumn of 1777 Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was chosen president of the Continental Congress, succeeding John Hancock, of Massachusetts. During his occupancy of this position Laurens asked the Congress to vote upon three famous measures. The first was the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, the second was the treaty between France and the United States, and the third was connected with the offer made by the British government in 1778 to make peace with the Americans. Laurens wrote the answer of the Congress to this proposal. Great Britain, he declared, must acknowledge the independence of the thirteen states and withdraw her soldiers before the Congress would have dealings with the British Parliament. The people of the American states, said Laurens,

were resolved to fight to the last in order to secure their freedom. In 1779 Laurens was appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland. On his way across the Atlantic he was captured by the British and shut up in the Tower of London. At the close of the war he was given back to the Americans in exchange for Lord Cornwallis, after the latter was made a prisoner at Yorktown. Laurens then went from London to Paris and, as one of the American commissioners, signed the preliminaries to the treaty of peace in 1782, which ended the war between Great Britain and the United States.

Col. John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, became an aide on the staff of General Washington in the early part of the Revolution. He was in the midst of the severest fighting at Germantown and Monmouth, and was made a prisoner when Charles Town fell in May, 1780. Soon afterwards, however, he was exchanged and returned to his post at Washington's side. In December, 1780, Laurens was appointed by the Continental Congress as special minister to the court of the King of France. Through the exercise of great tact and by the charm of his personal bearing, Laurens persuaded King Louis XVI., of France, to send money and a fleet to aid the Americans in their struggle for freedom. Laurens afterwards bore a distinguished part in the siege of Yorktown and the capture of the army of Cornwallis.

In 1787 four delegates from South Carolina took their seats in the Federal convention that met at Philadelphia. These were Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Rutledge and Pierce Butler, all of whom played an important part in the work of the convention. At an early stage in the proceedings Charles Pinckney, then under thirty years of age, presented a plan of government

to the convention very much like the plan that was finally adopted. John Rutledge, pronounced by George Washington, president of the convention, to be the finest orator among all the delegates, was the principal member of an important committee. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, afterwards a member of the celebrated mission to France and twice candidate of the Federalist party for the presidency of the United States, took a leading part in the debates of the convention. He may be rightly called one of the leading spirits of the great body of statesmen that framed our Federal constitution.

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HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,

Professor of Greek in the Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, S.C.; author of The Making of South Carolina.

SOUTH CAROLINA OFFICERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

Chapter II.

SOUTH CAROLINA A STATE IN THE FEDERAL UNION, 1789-1860.

South Carolina's Part in the Adoption of the Federal Constitution.

The condition of South Carolina in the years following the Revolution was distressing. The ravages of the British had been terrible. On many plantations every slave had been stolen, every building burned, by the British, and frequently the utmost exertions of the master were necessary to prevent his remaining servants from starving. Credit, left by the war in the most precarious condition, was struck absolutely dead by the state legislature's stay and tender laws, and as a consequence trade sunk to the same stagnation as agriculture. It was hard for any but the dishonest debtor to prosper. The reaction of sentiment in favor of a strong government and business-like administration soon began to assert itself among the more conservative representatives of the old planter and merchant classes; and here were laid the foundations of the talented Federalist party in South Carolina, which did not lose its control of the state until the prosperity of Federalist rule and the Democratic revolution of 1800 had placed the country in entirely new conditions.

It has happened often that a constitution not defensible on abstract principles of justice has, in a particular crisis, done much to atone for its general inequity. Such was the case in South Carolina in 1788. A small minority in the extreme low country, controlled by the wealthy merchant and planter

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classes, held, by majorities in both houses of the legislature, absolute control of the politics of the state. It was this minority, Federalist in all its sympathies and interests, that entered heartily into the scheme for a new national constitution, and in 1788 forced it upon an overwhelming majority of their individualistic, anti-Federal, Democratic fellow-citizens of the back country.

South Carolina was represented in the Federal convention of 1787 by four very talented men: John Rutledge, the Revolutionary president and governor, chief justice of South Carolina and of the United States; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, general in the Revolution and the War of 1812, minister to France and Federalist vice-presidential candidate in 1800, and presidential candidate in 1804 and 1808; Charles Pinckney (second cousin of C. C. Pinckney), minister to Spain and four times governor of South Carolina; and Pierce Butler.

Charles Pinckney later became a devoted Jeffersonian Democrat; but at this time he showed no symptoms of such a change. The position and influence of the entire South Carolina delegation may be summed up as in favor of a strong government, a strong, one-man executive, and the guardianship of the interests of the slave-owners of the lower south. Whatsoever the glory or the shame, the profit or the loss, South Carolina stood as the most persistent and influential champion of this last. In a word, her delegates were typical wealthy, aristocratic southern Federalists.

John Rutledge was said to be the most eloquent man upon the floor; and the opinions of both C. C. Pinckney and Pierce Butler carried weight. But notwithstanding his youth, Charles Pinckney, aged twenty-nine, the youngest member of this convention, is now recognized to have exercised one of the

strongest influences of any person in the formation of the constitution. This was fully established by Prof. J. Franklin Jameson in 1903 in a brilliant piece of constructive criticism.

On May 29, 1787, immediately after Gov. Edmund Randolph, backed by the immense prestige of Washington, Madison and the entire Virginia delegation, had presented the Virginia plan, Charles Pinckney presented his outline for a constitution.

The "Pinckney plan," written out in 1818 by Charles Pinckney and long generally accepted, was many years ago proved to be nothing better than an old man's confused recollections. In the reaction which followed, Pinckney lost much of the credit which is now proved to be justly his due. But Pinckney's strongest influence was exerted through the "committee on detail," which worked his ideas extensively into their report, which was adopted by the convention.

The united labors of the friends of the constitution in South Carolina overcame the opposition of the party of alarmed private interests and jealous state rights, led by Rawlins Lowndes. Of the 149 in favor of the constitution, eleven were from the up-country; of the seventy-three against, seventeen were from the low-country.

Distribution of Population.

The population of South Carolina has grown from 1670 to 1900 as follows: 1670, 150; 1701, 7,000; 1724, 32,000; 1734, 30,000; 1763, 105,000; 1765, 123,000; 1790, 249,073; 1800, 345,591; 1810, 415,115; 1820, 502,741; 1830, 581,185; 1840, 594,398; 1850, 668,507; 1860, 703,708; 1870, 705,606; 1880, 995,577; 1890, 1,151,149; 1900, 1,340,316; the figures before 1790 being estimated.

Until after the War of Secession the population

was almost entirely rural. County seats to-day containing from 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, consisted in 1820 merely, as with Sumter, of a rude courthouse and jail and twelve or thirteen residences, two churches and two or three stores; or, as with Greenville, of 500 people; or with Spartanburg, of 800 people; or with Newberry, of twenty or thirty dwellings. The oldest inland town in the state, Camden, a centre of back country trade, held 2,000 people; Columbia claimed 4,000; Charleston 24,780. As late as 1854 the name of the now flourishing city of Rock Hill did not appear upon the map.

A study of the distribution of population between the sections of low country and up country reveals much that is interesting in the social, political and industrial history of the state. To perceive their meaning we must divide the figures into black and white. It is necessary also to define the terms up and low country. In 1790 the low country was considered to consist of the old districts of Georgetown, Charles Town and Beaufort, and the up country of Cheraw, Camden, Ninety-Six and Orangeburg. On the map of to-day the old line of division may be followed along the northwestern edge of Marion (cutting straight on across Florence), Williamsburg, Berkeley, Dorchester, Colleton and Hampton. Wealth, culture and the control of politics resided in the lower section; poverty, ignorance, native intelligence and energy, right well interspersed with moderate prosperity and education, in the upper. As time went on topographical and economic conditions, supplemented by the influence natural to wealth and culture, assimilated the tier of counties immediately to the northwest to the ideals and civilization of the low country; so that we may say, that since about 1815 the line, almost coinciding with the geological division, between the up and low country, has been the

DE KALB MONUMENT, CAMDEN, S. C.

Corner-Stone Laid by Gen. La Fayette, March 9th, 1825.

northwestern edge of Marlboro, Darlington, Lee, Sumter, Richland, Calhoun, Orangeburg and Barnwell. I shall refer to the original and enlarged low country as the old and new low country, and, *muto mutandis,* to the old and new up country. The spread of cotton culture and industrial development have constantly tended to distribute the elements of the population more evenly, as it is shown by the following table of the new up and low country:

Population of South Carolina by sections and races, 1790–1900.*

	1790	1820	1840	1860	1880	1900
Up Country:†						
White.....	87,074	156,227	166,291	168,722	228,338	334,996
Negro.....	17,048	80,637	128,307	173,251	264,495	338,748
Total up country.....	104,122	236,914	294,598	341,973	492,833	673,744
Low Country:						
White.....	53,104	81,163	92,793	122,578	162,767	222,811
Negro.....	91,847	184,664	207,007	239,069	339,837	443,573
Total, low country.....	144,951	265,827	299,800	361,647	502,604	666,384
Total State: White and negro.....	249,073	502,741	594,398	703,620	995,437	1,340,128
Chinese, Japanese and taxed Indians...				88	140	188
Total State.....	249,073	502,741	594,398	703,708	995,577	1,340,316

Many facts of the first importance lie back of these figures and have made them what they are. The movement of the negro population up the country

*Probably about 3,000 whites and 1,000 negroes in 1790 ought to be transferred from low country to up country, on account of Orangeburg, as then reported in the census, including Lexington and part of Aiken, which is counted as up country. A transfer of the same kind, in which white first predominates and finally negro, beginning with about 3,000 in 1790, and reaching about 14,000 in 1870, should strictly be made for each census before 1880, because part of Aiken, counted as up country, was, until that county's creating in 1871, included in counties counted as low country

†The following counties are counted as up country: Abbeville, Aiken, Anderson, Cherokee, Chester, Chesterfield, Edgefield, Fairfield, Greenville, Greenwood, Kershaw, Lancaster, Laurens, Lexington, Newberry, Oconee, Pendleton, Pickens, Saluda, Spartanburg, Union, York. The following are counted as low country: Bamberg, Darlington, Dorchester, Florence, Georgetown, Hampton, Horry, Marion, Marlboro, Orangeburg, Richland, Sumter, Williamsburg. At no one time were all the above-named counties in existence.

marks the progress of cotton culture. This industry entirely transformed the state above the line of the old low country. It found the old up country inhabited by a rather aggressive, typical white American population, known to the old low country as "a manufacturing people;" it left the entire state, save the extreme upper edge of the Piedmont escarpment, transformed in industry, politics and civilization, and under the domination of an oligarchy which, by their ability and boldness, turned the destinies of the state and nation in a degree altogether disproportionate to their numerical strength.

If space allowed the insertion of the complete table on which the condensed one given is based, it would exhibit one of the most pathetic features in South Carolina history, the retreat of the free white farmer before the oncoming planter with his bands of slaves. Chester, for instance, in 1860, had lost 47 per cent. of its white population of 1820, while it had gained in negroes 141 per cent.; and in 1900 even had not again risen to as large an absolute white population as it had had eighty years before. Newberry, sinking from 10,177 whites in 1820, to 7,000 in 1860, had barely in 1900 risen, with 10,351 whites, to the figures of 1820. With Fairfield the white and negro populations have run as follows: In 1820, 9,378 whites and 7,796 negroes; in 1840, 7,587 whites and 12,578 negroes; in 1860, 6,373 whites and 15,738 negroes; in 1900, 7,050 whites and 22,375 negroes.

The causes of the rapid increase of negro slaves and decrease of free white men were two: the encroach of the large slave-worked cotton plantation, and the lure of cheap fertile western lands. South Carolina has always been a prolific nest for peopling the great West, and particularly the Southwest. Complaints of the migration of thousands to Missis-

sippi and Alabama were loud in 1820. The stream never ceased. In 1860, of the white persons in the United States born in South Carolina, 276,868 (59 per cent.) were living in the state and 193,389 (41 per cent.) in other states. It is a fair presumption that the vast stream of South Carolinians that flowed to Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, etc., greatly promoted the spread of South Carolina ideas of nullification of secession.

Slavery, 1790 to 1860.

The rapid increase of slaves from 1790 to 1820 is evidence of large importations. The state had reopened the traffic with Africa in 1804; and in the next three years and a little over, 39,075 slaves were imported. The masters were, for some decades, a small proportion of the white population. In the old low country in 1790 the census list of heads of families shows almost every family to have been possessed of slaves, the largest number in one hand being about 500. In the up country in 1790 slaves were rare, sometimes over a hundred families being passed without a slave, though with the introduction of cotton culture, which followed the invention of the gin in 1793, almost the whole state was gradually sprinkled with a planter class holding many slaves and surrounded by numerous small owners in town and country. In 1860 there were 26,701 slaveholders in the state, representing doubtless about 130,000 people, or 45 per cent. of the white population. In 1850 only 9,629 owners held ten or more slaves, out of a white population of 274,563, and the proportion of large owners was much greater than in other states.

Slaves had no standing in court, and no person of color could testify in cases affecting a white person. Special laws of greater severity than those for whites governed the negro population, slave and free. For

instance, an attempt to rape a white woman was a capital crime in a negro. Slaves were also protected by certain special laws. The South Carolina slave code was by no means inhumane, though it would be absurd to deny that cruel masters did many brutal things that went unpunished, just as cruel masters still do in New York, Chicago and London.

Slaves and free negroes were tried by a court consisting of a magistrate and two freeholders, or two magistrates and three freeholders, who were practically governed by no rules, except that power over life and limb was limited to specified serious crimes, and from whom there was no appeal. The interests of the master and the sense of class responsibility secured substantial justice to the negro. The state compensated the master for an executed slave.

In the earlier days, for peculiarly heinous crimes, as murdering the master, slaves were burned alive (North as well as South); but this was very rare indeed after the early years of the Nineteenth century. I have met a case in 1820 and have heard of one on dim recollection in about 1835.

On the other hand, in 1854, two young white men, one of wealthy family, were hanged for the murder of a runaway slave on whom they set their dogs, every exertion of their attorneys proving unavailing.

The liberal sentiments inspired by the Revolution led to numerous manumissions, and there appeared a number of pronounced abolitionists. Henry Laurens reluctantly found the emancipation of his $100,000 worth of slaves too much opposed by his environment; but the emancipation sentiment never died in his family. One branch of the Grimké family went North and became extreme abolitionists. Many lesser folk left the state, even far toward the mid-century, on account of their detestation of slavery, 5,000 Quakers, it is stated, going in a short time.

Before the spread of cotton culture the up country had little interest in slavery. Timothy Ford, stating in 1794 the reasons the low country planter could not consent to proportional representation for the up country, says that we cannot submit slavery to the control of these free labor strangers. "Our very existence as a people depends upon the perpetual observance of certain fundamental institutions, and we cannot submit to any people on earth the power of abrogating or altering them. * * * We must cease to be altogether the instant we cease to be *just* what we are." So early had slavery become the master of the masters.

Before 1800 manumission was unrestricted, and frequently heartless masters forced freedom upon decrepit slaves to avoid supporting them in their declining years. This led to the law of 1800, intended to protect both the slave and the public, by requiring the approval of a magistrate and five freeholders, who should determine whether the slave was self-supporting and would be a safe freeman. The sharp check given to the increase of free negroes is proof of the extent of the evil at which the law had been aimed. The increase from 1790 to 1800 was 77 per cent.; from 1800 to 1810 only 43 per cent. But 43 per cent. is itself very large, and the fact that in the next decade it rose to 50 per cent. shows that the principle of emancipation was widely entertained. It is also true that racial antagonism had almost entirely disappeared and that the slaves were treated with extraordinary leniency.

This period of liberalism was unhappily ended by three events: that "firebell in the night," the Missouri debates in 1819 and 1820; the abolitionist movement taking shape in the early twenties; and the horrible Vezey plot in 1822.

Denmark Vezey, a freed negro of considerable intelligence, had organized a conspiracy extending its connections as far north as Santee River, officered by a corps of lieutenants, and embracing, it was estimated, 5,000 slaves. He told the negroes, alluding to the Missouri debate, that Congress had freed them and that their masters now held them illegally in servitude. Seizing the vast wealth around them, murder, arson, rape, and escape to San Domingo, constituted the motives by which Vezey fired the imagination of his followers. As St. Michael's clock tolled midnight on June 16, the massacre was to begin. A faithful slave revealed the plot; the arrest of apparently every leader followed. Their trials were conducted with fairness and deliberation, each negro having a lawyer appointed in his defence. Thirty-five negroes were hanged; death was commuted to a lighter punishment in the case of twelve others; twenty-two were transported; fifty-two were acquitted.

As Vezey was a "free man of color," the alarm of the community was much aroused against this class, and a movement was begun for their expulsion. In alarm, as the preamble states, at the great increase of freedmen, a law had been passed, Dec. 20, 1820, forbidding emancipation except with the permission of the legislature, and forbidding any free negro to enter the state, unless he had previously lived in it within the past two years. In 1823 even these were forbidden to return.

In 1835, in reaction against the abolition movement, it was enacted that a free negro who returned after having been once expelled should be sold as a slave, and severe penalties were denounced against his white accomplices. All persons were forbidden to bring into South Carolina any slave who had been north of Washington city or to other free countries,

and the sheriff was ordered to imprison during the stay of vessels in a South Carolina port any free negro sailor, passenger or employee. This last clause embroiled South Carolina, in 1844, in a hot dispute with Massachusetts, whose commissioner, Judge Hoar, was compelled by the citizens of Charleston to leave the state, even before the law, which the legislature had promptly passed making a mission such as his a crime, could be enforced.

In 1841 persons were forbidden to emancipate their slaves by will or deed or to send them to a free state or foreign country, or even to provide for their virtual freedom under ownership. Anger and fear had completely destroyed the spirit existing before 1820.

Space forbids more than a passing reference to that interesting and pathetic class, the "F. M. C."—free man of color. Of these there were in South Carolina in 1790, 1,801; in 1820, 6,826; in 1840, 8,276; in 1860, 9,914. In 1860, of the large number in Charleston, 360 were assessed for taxation, their property being placed at $724,570—doubtless little more than half its market value—and 130 of them owned 390 slaves.

Manufactures.

As already indicated, the immense profits of raising cotton with slave labor spread that industry over the state almost to the destruction and exclusion of everything else. In 1814, 3,267,141 yards of cloth were woven in the state, on 14,938 looms, all but 126,463 yards in the free labor up country. These goods were valued at $1,678,223. In 1840 the value of the state's manufactures of cloth reached only $362,450. In 1860 the same items reached $792,950, still less than half the figures for 1820.

The total value of manufactured products in South

Carolina in 1810 is given as $2,216,212; in 1820 as $168,666*; in 1840, $5,638,823; in 1860, $8,619,195.

The variety of manufactures was always great, though all but the textile industries were small: *e. g.*, there was in 1840 a mill in Greenville producing annually $20,000 worth of paper. The manufacture of cotton cloth, however, has always been so much the most important as to demand special notice.

Governor Glenn reports in 1748 or 1749 that a little cloth was being woven in Williamsburg. As early as 1768 cotton cloth was manufactured and offered for sale in the Darlington section. In 1777 one planter had thirty negroes producing 120 yards of mixed woolen and cotton cloth a week, spun and woven under the instruction of a white man and woman. In 1790 the first "Arkwright mill in America" was operating in South Carolina.

The first considerable attempt at production of cloth for commerce was made in 1808 by the "South Carolina Homespun Company" of Charleston, under the presidency of Dr. J. L. E. W. Shecut. The original capital of $30,000 was afterwards supplemented.

In 1812 plans which appear to have materialized were on foot for a mill in Greenville county, to be run by water and make 250 yards of cloth a day. David R. Williams (governor, 1814-16) took advantage of the high prices caused by the commercial restrictions during the period of the War of 1812 and started a yarn and coarse cloth mill near Society Hill, operated by his own slaves. It was still in operation in 1847.

Soon after these promising beginnings, however, Calhoun, Cheves and other leaders threw their influence against manufacturing, and its development

*I am tempted to think that household manufactures must have been omitted in 1820 and included in other years. They are included in the figures I quote for 1814, and evidently in those for 1810. In fact almost the entire cloth manufacture in South Carolina was then in the household. Doubtless the larger part of the European manufacture was then done by Silas Marners at home.

was left largely to a number of New England settlers who came, about 1816, to upper South Carolina and, as Kohn so justly says, "laid the foundation for" more than two million spindles that now "hum in the Piedmont belt." These Yankee Hills and Weavers started their enterprises about 1818, so nearly contemporaneously that priority is still in dispute. After this the regular commercial manufacture, by natives and New Englanders, never ceased. At one time and another throughout the period several factories successfully worked slaves, under white overseers.

In 1847 William Gregg, one of the notable figures in Southern industrial history, began operations at Graniteville on the largest and best considered plans up to that time attempted in the state. Gregg, a Virginian, came to South Carolina on foot. He was a skilled jeweler and watchmaker. Moving, with a growing trade, from Columbia to Charleston, he began in about 1840 a vigorous campaign for the extensive building of mills. Governor Hammond (governor 1842-4) estimated that in 1850 50,000 out of the 275,000 white population were not able to procure a decent living. "Most of them," he says, "now follow agricultural pursuits in feeble yet injurious competition with slave labor." Gregg states that he saw hundreds of white women in Charleston in wretched poverty for lack of occupation, and that thousands of South Carolinians never passed a month, from birth to death, without being "stinted for meat," and he scoffed at the idea of needing more negroes from Africa to supply labor. Gregg proposed to abolish such conditions. His writings and acts show him not only a captain of industry, but a statesman.

In 1850 Gregg's factory, Graniteville, in Aiken county, had a main building of granite 350 feet long

and was surrounded by a village of 1,000 inhabitants, provided with "ornamental cottages" with gardens, a school, a library, and a savings bank. No liquor selling was allowed. The products of the mill took the premium at an exposition in Philadelphia.

In 1847 there were ten cotton mills in operation in South Carolina, and "an extensive establishment" in erection. In 1860 there were seventeen, with a capital of $801,825.

Constitutional and Political Develcpment.

The constitution under which South Carolina continued until 1865 was adopted by convention in 1790, and, by the practice then all but universal, put in force without popular vote. The government was one of great centralization, and the legislature was well nigh supreme. Constitutional limitations upon its authority were scanty; for years it elected every official, from governor and presidential electors down. In addition to being elected by the legislature, the governor was also without veto power; so that though many governors exercised much influence, it was by reason of their personal strength. In general, the governorship was a much less important office than now. For governor and legislators a moderately high property qualification was required, ten slaves being included for representatives, thus effectually securing a certain species of property and civilization.

Representation was apportioned without system, and the one-fifth of the white people residing in the old low country had a majority in each house. The struggle for representation by white population, lost in the convention of 1790, was renewed out of doors, with Wade Hampton, Robert G. Harper, John Kershaw, and, possibly most valuable of all, Joseph Alston of Georgetown, as leaders. The fight was not

won till 1808, and then by compromise. From that time till after the war representation was apportioned in the lower house according to wealth and white population equally, each district having one representative for each one sixty-second part of the wealth or white population of the state. The senators were redistributed with more equity than before. This left the Senate in control of the low country and the House in control of the up country, so that the wealthy planter could not force injurious measures upon the up country farmer, nor the numerous and impecunious up countryman endanger the vested interest of the wealthy coast region. This was not without its value, when, on one occasion in the era of subsidizing railroads, a representative from Charleston rebuked one from Spartanburg for proposing to spend the state's money to build a line through his county, whose taxes actually had to be supplemented by the state treasury in order to pay the expense of administering the courts. This arrangement later became Calhoun's ideal of a government by interests, to which he wished to assimilate the northern and southern representation in the two houses of Congress, leaving the control of one in the hands of each section.

One of the earliest results of the reform of representation was that for the first time the legislature began to elect governors from above the old low country line. The sectional division was also recognized in allowing the governor to reside where he pleased, except during legislative sessions, in requiring the supreme court to meet both in Charleston and Columbia, in providing one treasurer for the up country and one for the low country, and in requiring the secretary of state and several other officials to keep offices both in Charleston and Columbia.

In 1810 every white man was made a voter; but

land owners continued to enjoy the privilege of voting for representatives in any one county in which they held property, and for county officers in all. This amendment to the constitution was framed by John S. Richardson.

Vermont, in 1786, is the only state that antedated South Carolina in manhood suffrage.

Before many decades a number of the county (called "district" from 1798 to 1868) and other officials were made elective by the people. Twice at least, about 1838 and 1847-56, there arose restiveness against the absorption of authority by the legislature at the expense of the people. In 1838 it was an attempt to have the governor, and in 1847-56 to have the presidential electors, chosen by the people; but in both cases Calhoun used his influence to crush the movement, for the reason that it would reveal the weakness of divided parties and lessen the state's influence in Congress.

South Carolina before 1860 never merged herself in any party, though, except in 1832 and 1836, she always voted with the Democrats, beginning with 1800. But she never sent a delegation to any national party convention until that in Charleston in 1860, and then not without hesitation. William C. Preston and Waddy Thompson, restive at Calhoun's dictatorship, attempted in the later thirties, to organize a Whig party; but the movement was almost negligible and was fiercely crushed. In 1844 the Whigs cast only about 6,000 out of about 58,000 votes. Nevertheless a small number with broad construction views continued to vote Whig to the last.

An interesting phase of constitutional history occurred in connection with the development of the power of courts to decide unconstitutional acts of the legislature. A decision of this kind in South Carolina in 1792 was the sixth or seventh in the United

States. In 1798 Gov. Charles Pinckney protested vigorously, and sought to have this new power abolished.

Internal Improvements.

The transportation problem in South Carolina was to get the cotton crop to market. The system of poor roads maintained by local authorities proved utterly inadequate and lead to an ambitious scheme of public works at state expense. This was supplemented by private canals and toll roads. The introduction of railways marked another era.

The earliest and most notable of the canal enterprises was the Santee Canal. This was one of the first canals of its length in the United States. It was one expression of the energetic efforts to develop transportation which led to the internal improvement policy of Gallatin and Clay, the Erie Canal, and, eventually, the vast railway system of to-day. The Santee Canal Company was chartered in 1786 and begun construction in 1793. The canal was open in July, 1800. The stock was divided into 720 shares, at $1,000 each, assessed as need arose. Most of this was consumed in the construction, which cost $650,667.* The engineer was Col. John Christian Senf, a Hessian, who was captured with Burgoyne, embraced the American cause and was sent to South Carolina.† He was a skilful engineer, but a very jealous man, and deliberately chose an expensive and difficult route rather than the one dictated by the topography and water courses that had previously been suggested by Mouzon. The canal is now in ruins, though some of the locks, built of brick and originally capped with marble, are standing. As though it were yet a reality, it still appears on the map, where it can be seen much more plainly than upon its crumbled banks. The canal

*This figure is from Porcher. Phillips says about $750,000.

†This statement, contrary to the traditional statement, is derived from a high class contemporary MS. recently discovered by the writer.

left Santee River about seven miles east of Eutaw Springs and ran, as though in la belle France itself, through old St. Stephens and St. John's Berkeley among the homesteads of Mazycks, Porchers, Du Boses, Ravenals, Gourdins, Gaillards, Bonneaus, Pontoux and Mottes, south-southeast to the northern branch of Cooper River, just east of Monk's Corner. The rapids on the Congaree Broad, Saluda and Wateree rivers were circumvented by canals, and thus more than half the counties of the state were enabled to send their produce to Charleston by inland water transportation. Soon freight began to arrive in the narrow, shallow boats from within thirty-five miles of the Blue Ridge.

The canal was twenty-two miles long, twenty feet wide at the bottom and thirty-five at the surface of the water, which stood four feet deep. The highest level was thirty-four feet above Santee River and sixty-nine feet above the Cooper. The locks were 60 by 10 feet, and admitted boats of twenty-two tons burden. All the rough work was done by slave labor. The skilled hired white mechanics died off pitifully among the swamps and canal traverses. For a mile and a half, in fact, it was a wooden trough carried above the ground.

The canal was a disastrous venture for its stockholders, as its annual profits at the highest, were hardly 3 per cent. A toll of $21 per boat was charged each way. The greatest amount of business appears to have been in about 1830, when the tolls reached $20,000. The value of the canal to Charleston is indicated by the fact that for the year ending Sept. 30, 1827, it brought all but 59,000 of the 200,000 320-pound bales of cotton that entered the city.

Three years of drought, 1817-19, so severe as to deprive the upper levels of the canal, in its badly chosen situation, of water, led the legislature to

build turnpikes from the coast to the up country. Steam engines were used to pump water into the canal. But its doom was sealed by a more formidable enemy than turnpikes and droughts. In 1842 a branch of the railroad from Charleston to Hamburg, opposite Augusta, was completed to Columbia. In 1848 another branch reached Camden. The canal, in rapid decline since 1848, was abandoned in 1858.

The passion for "internal improvements" took possession of South Carolina in 1817. In 1818 the legislature appropriated one million dollars to be expended during four years for road and canal building and river clearing. In the ten years 1816-25 the state government expended for these ends $1,712,662, and for several years after about $100,000 annually; but the fever subsided for a time after 1828, to be renewed later in favor of railroads. The old "State road" from Charleston through Holly Hill and St. Matthews to Columbia and an extension through Newberry and Greenville to Saluda Gap on the North Carolina line were built during this period. But the turnpike and toll system was a failure, as the people did not consider the advantages worth the cost in tolls. The turnpikes were allowed to fall into absolute neglect.

The turnpikes, says Phillips, to whose account I am chiefly indebted, had been during this period the main reliance of Charleston in the plucky fight she waged for a century to draw export trade to her port. The invention of railroads caused the abandonment of the unsatisfactory and languishing system. The Charleston of 1825-40 was one of the most alert and progressive business communities in America. She was the mainspring in half of the larger railroad enterprises in ante-bellum South Carolina, and one of the heaviest financial burdens upon her city government to-day is paying the interest on the sub-

sidies she advanced in these enterprises. The old city looked to the upland cotton belt and continually beyond as far as the Mississippi River for the substance of a vast commerce to pass over her railways and through her harbor to the outside world. It is a story full of high endeavor and heroic effort; but ports further to the west and north, favored by accessibility to the fields and mines, have passed her in the race. In 1774, even with the great stagnation in trade produced by non-importation, etc., South Carolina's exports and imports equalled $3,624,035; in 1821, $10,207,624; in 1856 for Charleston, $19,228,-803; in 1890, $14,353,395; in 1908, $5,886,962.

The first railroad in South Carolina was chartered in 1827, construction was begun in 1831, and the road was finished in 1833. This road, 136 miles long, was the Charleston & Hamburg, with termini at Charleston and Hamburg. By 1853 thirteen different roads, aggregating 1,044 miles in length (not including side tracks), had been chartered, and all of them had been completed by 1860. Of the total mileage, however, seventy-seven miles were in North Carolina and twelve miles in Georgia. There were thus 955 miles of railway, not including sidings, in South Carolina in 1861; on June 30, 1907, there were 3,208.

The ante-bellum railroads were extremely frail. In 1840 they were commonly built with ties from three to five feet apart, traversed by a longitudinal beam along which, for rail, was nailed an iron strap one inch thick and two and a half inches wide, or smaller, which sometimes turned up at the end and skewered the coach or any unhappy passenger in the path. In South Carolina the gauge at first was five feet.

When the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad completed its 136 miles of track in 1833, it was the longest railroad in the world. Much executive ability

was displayed in mastering the new problems in its construction and operation.

December, 1859, the state government owned $2,652,300 of railroad stock, besides having guaranteed four and a quarter million dollars' worth of bonds, much of which it had to pay.

Banking.

South Carolina's banking history is very honorable. Before 1860 persons from neighboring states going to a distance would provide themselves with South Carolina bank notes, as these were as good as gold everywhere, even circulating, says Williams, in England and Europe. Every South Carolina bank was specie paying. Previous to the war of secession there was not a bank failure. There were a few banks of very large capital, which extended their operations to distant sections of the state. It was a day of a few great emporiums; the bank and cotton market at every respectable village are very modern. The oldest was the Bank of South Carolina, chartered in 1792, with $1,000,000 capital.

In 1812 the legislature chartered the State Bank, in which the state was the sole stockholder. It enjoyed one of the most notable careers in American banking history, earning high dividends with a cash capital rising finally to about $1,200,000, and a circulation of about $1,500,000. It was closed by the "carpet baggers" in 1870. Says Horace White: "Its history is exceptional in the fact that for nearly sixty consecutive years it was conducted with prudence, honesty and pecuniary profit without the spur of private interest. It must have been in the charge of good bankers all the time."

The capital, surplus and circulation of the twenty banks in South Carolina in 1861 equalled $21,041,522, or $28.48 per capita, being almost twice as much in

absolute quantity and more than three times as much per capita as in September, 1903. The deposits, however, were small as compared with to-day, being $3,334,037; the loans and discounts were $22,230,759, and the specie $1,628,336.

Education.

The outburst of energy and enthusiasm upon the establishment of a stable government in 1789 showed itself also in education. The College of Charleston, only a high school until about 1825, was chartered in 1785, with an endowment of $60,000 subscribed by its friends. By 1800 sixteen or more high schools were chartered, in some instances with fair endowments. In 1801 the legislature founded the South Carolina College, in order to place higher education near her people and to diminish the sectional antagonism, then so fierce, by enabling young men of both sections of the state to learn each other. The classical "Willington" of Dr. Moses Waddell, founded in 1804, was one of the notable preparatory schools in the country. There John C. Calhoun rose at dawn to study under the forest trees, as was the custom, and thence went well prepared into the junior class at Yale.

In 1811 a "free school" system open to all was organized, and $37,000 was voted by the state for operation. Eventually the plan was adopted of the state's paying the tuition of poor children at any private or local school. Not being very desirous of education and resenting being distinguished as charity patrons, the poor, to a great extent, kept their children at home. The wealthy resorted largely to private tutors. For the twenty-seven years, 1812-38, the state appropriation averaged $35.000. After 1852 the state annually appropriated $74,000. The total expenditure for schools and colleges in the

state in 1860 was $690,412, mainly from tuition fees. Endowments equalled $1,910,788. The expenditures per capita of white population in South Carolina equalled $2.36; in Massachusetts, $1.82; the adult white illiteracy in South Carolina, 5.07 per cent.; in Massachusetts, 3.79 per cent. In 1860 there existed in South Carolina eleven colleges for men, five colleges for young women and a number of high-grade preparatory schools. Barhamville, for women, dated back to about 1830. Of the sixteen colleges, two were under the control of the state, three of private parties, ten of religious denominations and one of the city of Charleston. Three were schools of theology and one a school of medicine.

In standards of scholarship, the ante-bellum colleges were much more nearly abreast of their northern contemporaries than is now the case. Indeed, in the classics the standards have not yet recovered the position lost as the consequence of the events of 1861-76. The same may be unhappily said regarding student standards of personal honor. A sincere friend of democracy must admit that this is due, in part, to the introduction into college halls of thousands who would have never dreamed of such opportunity in the olden time. It is one of the unpleasant incidents of democracy in the making which serves to show how badly democracy had been needed.

The Work of South Carolina's Ante-Bellum Statesmen, at Home and Abroad.

South Carolina statesmen distinguished themselves in diplomacy in the early years of the constitution. Later their attention was mainly absorbed by domestic politics.

In 1795 Thomas Pinckney, minister to England, 1792-4, and to Spain, 1794-6, negotiated with the latter the most brilliant treaty the country had gained

since the signing of the peace. In 1797 Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, his brother, taught France to respect our country by his defiance of the demands of the corrupt Directory in his answer, "No; no; not a sixpence!" popularized into "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." Waddy Thompson served with distinction as minister to Mexico from 1842 to 1844. Calhoun, as secretary of state in 1844-5, conducted the delicate negotiations with Mexico and England with a skill that promoted the advantageous outcome of both disputes, though he bitterly opposed forcing war upon Mexico. Charles Pinckney, though bold to the point of indiscretion in Spain, 1801-5, was proved by events to have been wiser than his government, which would have saved us unmeasured humiliation and loss if it had sustained his positive policy. Henry Middleton was minister to Russia from 1820 to 1830, and F. W. Pickens from 1858 to 1860.

The influence of South Carolina statesmen in national councils from about 1832 to 1860 was doubtless greater in proportion to their constituency than that of the representatives of any other state. This disproportionate influence of so small a state is accounted for by a number of reasons. Several of her representatives happened to be men of unusual talent; her people sacrificed everything in state politics to presenting a united front in Washington; her system and ideals were such as to bring the ablest men into public life, and the South Carolinians had supreme faith in themselves and their state and a reckless courage. They were in deadly earnest; for they verily believed that to lose in their fight for state sovereignty, the only shield of slavery, would be to reduce their homes to a howling wilderness of African savagery. Therefore they dared and fought as men fighting for their lives and the honor of their

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

wives and daughters. Thus, being ready at all times to go to any extreme, they were able for several decades to force submission upon the North, not willing to risk the huge stakes of secession and war in the contest. It was a bold game in which success meant the misfortune of their own state, most South Carolinians of to-day would doubtless admit, and in which failure meant ruin to the ante-bellum Southern system; but it was a game played by the ruling class with skill and daring.

The task of South Carolina statesmen after the abolitionist and protectionist movements took shape was thus concerned with domestic politics. This demanded the control of Congress. Accordingly, we find that from the 21st to the 36th Congress (1829-1861), nine of the sixteen were presided over by Southern men, generally of the most decided type. In the Senate, of twenty-six presidents *pro tempore* elected during the period, only six were Northern, and of these two were from Maryland. Of the nine presidents, four were Southern, and of the other five three were effective tools in the hands of the Southern party. Though foreign affairs were secondary, Southern men held from 1830 to 1860 29½ per cent. of the appointments to the five leading European courts.

Until about 1830 Virginia had been the representative Southern state. After issues became more desperate and parties more violent, Virginia was found too moderate for the lower, cotton-raising South, and leadership passed gradually to South Carolina under the powerful influence of Calhoun, seconded by Hayne, McDuffie and other brilliant lieutenants.

Intellectually, Calhoun was decidedly in advance of his following. He comprehended the situation more fully, saw further into the future, and exercised

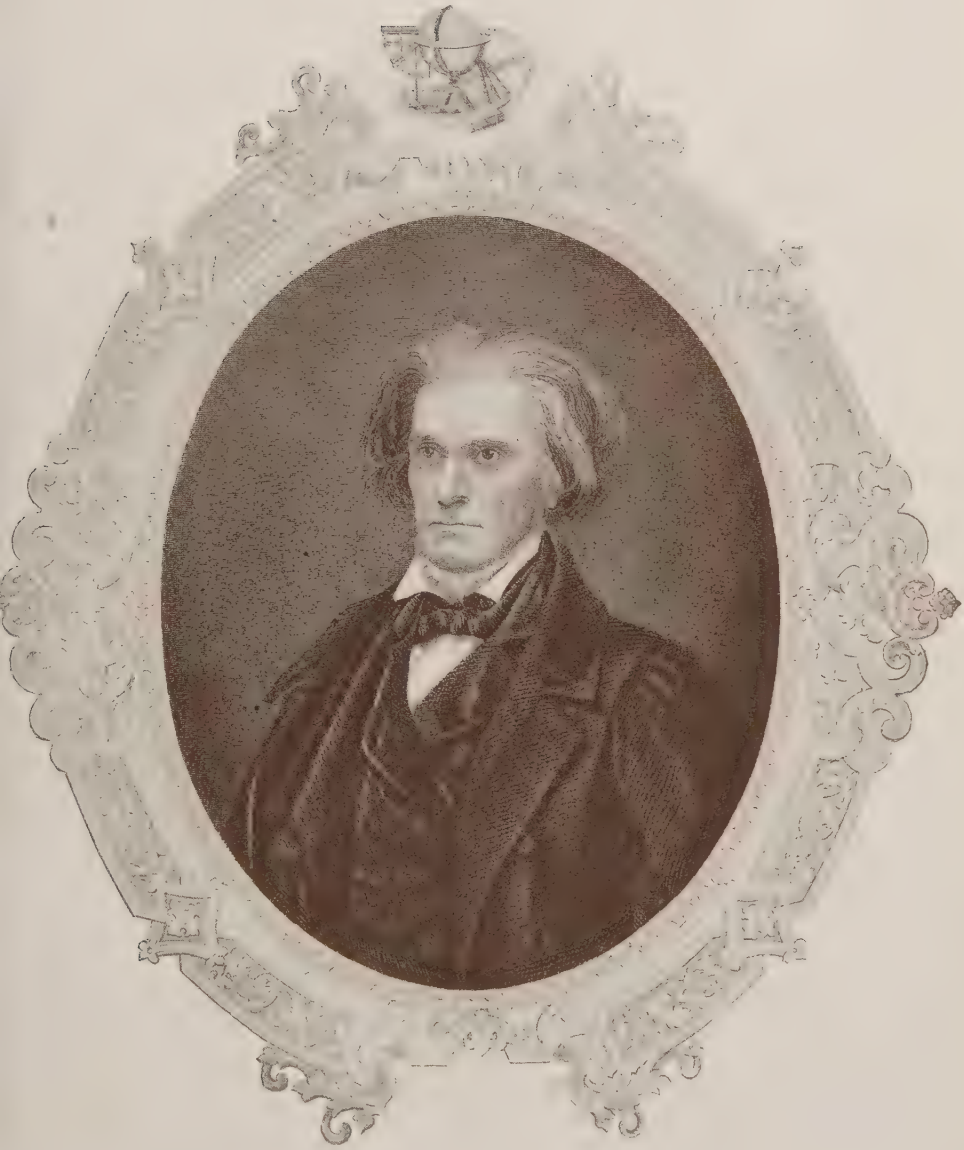
a more statesmanlike union of boldness and self-restraint than he was able at all times to impose upon them.

But it was not until the crisis of 1848, incident to disposing of the territory acquired from Mexico, that Calhoun succeeded in his long labor of forming a united Southern party, in disregard of all old party lines. At his death in 1850 he left to his successor, Jefferson Davis, a firmly united Southern party, well indoctrinated with the principles and prepared to go any length in carrying out the theories of their departed master.

Calhoun died a broken-hearted man. His life is the tragedy of a mighty mind and noble character, constrained by the circumstances of his residence and his time into the service of a cause against which civilization and the forces of history set with resistless power. He sincerely believed that the abolition of slavery would mean to Africanize his native land, and that state sovereignty was the sole bulwark against this hideous ruin. So believing, he would have been a craven and a traitor to have done otherwise than as he did. He never sought disunion, but was driven to advocate it only in case it should be impossible, by any other means, to save the South. His recommending that there be two Presidents, a Southern to veto measures endangering the South, and a Northern to veto measures against the North, is alone, as Van Holst points out, proof of his love for the Union; for nothing but deep affection could so blind such an intellect to the impracticability of such a scheme.

Federal and Interstate Relations.

With the exception of the dispute with Massachusetts culminating in 1844, already alluded to, and of negotiations looking towards coöperation for seces-



JOHN C. CALHOUN

sion, to be described later, the political relations of South Carolina with other states were of little interest. Boundary disputes with Georgia and North Carolina dragged through many years, and the question as to whether Andrew Jackson was born to the east or the west of that portion of the North Carolino-South Carolina line near Charlotte, running north and south, still excites debate. The sudden northward elevation of the western half of South Carolina's northern line is accounted for by the fact that in colonial times the surveyors, after running northwest from the coast, started due west too far south. At a later date their error was compensated by running the western half of the line an equivalent distance north. The saddle-like hump near Charlotte was occasioned by running around the old Catawba Indian reservation, a square whose northern corner is seen pointing to the northward near the 81st degree of longitude.

The Federal relations of South Carolina from 1798 to 1860 are of the utmost importance. Hamilton's funding measures assumed a greater Revolutionary debt for South Carolina than for any other state—$3,999,651—Massachusetts being a close second and Virginia, the third, falling more than a million below this figure. South Carolina was at this time, due to the preponderance of power enjoyed by the low country, staunchly Federalist. A Charleston pamphleteer in 1794 says that the dissatisfaction of the up-country with the South Carolina constitution is as unreasonable as it would be for one state to propose to withdraw from the Union, because it thought the national constitution deprived it of too much of its power. But the keynote of the doctrine which South Carolina never surrendered, deeper than this temporary nationalism, is struck by this same writer when he bases the extraordinary privi-

leges of the low country against which the up country was protesting upon the principle that the majority have no right to infringe the social compact.

There was an abundance of national patriotism in South Carolina until it became apparent that the new protectionist policy was working her injury. Calhoun voted for the tariff of 1816 and favored the liberal exercise of implied powers. But before long he entirely changed. We may place his conversion to strict construction doctrines at about 1819. Calhoun did not, however, originate the strict construction party in South Carolina. Judge William Smith, of York county, while in the United States Senate in 1817 opposed the bonus bill Calhoun originated in the house. Defeated at the end of his first term in 1823, Smith returned to South Carolina and, with the aid of President Thomas Cooper, of the South Carolina College, educated the state in the school of strict construction, thus earning the title of "the father of nullification." In 1825 he succeeded in formally committing the legislature to his views and was endorsed by a second election to the United States Senate. But the movement he had organized outstripped him; in 1830 he was defeated because he opposed nullification. The leadership had passed to Calhoun, who in his "*South Carolina Exposition,*" written in 1828 for a legislative committee as their report, had expounded nullification of the 1798 Kentucky kind.

The hardship with which the tariff upon manufactures bore upon the Southern planter is indicated by the exports. In 1835 the exports from New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania equalled $54,127,000; those from Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana, $70,176,000. South Carolina was exceeded only by Louisiana, the highest, and New York, the next highest.

The tariff of 1828 prepared South Carolina for action; that of 1832 precipitated the crisis. Calhoun advised that a convention should be called and the tariff nullified. The advice of the leader who was now implicitly trusted was immediately followed by governor and legislature. After an election of unprecedented excitement and bitterness, the convention met, Nov. 19-24, 1832. The "Unionist" vote for the legislature in 1832 was about 17,000; the nullifiers, 23,000; but as the former carried few districts their representatives were a small minority. The same was true of the convention, elected a few weeks later. "Of the 162 delegates actually in attendance," says Houston, "136 were nullifiers." The Unionist strength lay mainly in the extreme northwestern section of the state. In the village of Spartanburg a small party burned Calhoun in effigy. But the most influential Unionist leaders, William Drayton, James Pettigru, B. F. Perry, J. B. O'Neal, Daniel E. Huger and J. S. Richardson, were all, except Perry, from the middle and lower country, and so generally failed of obtaining seats. The bulk of the political leadership was with the nullifiers, represented by Calhoun, James Hamilton, R. Y. Hayne, S. D. Miller, William Harper, George McDuffie, F. H. Elmore, William C. Preston, R. W. Barnwell and Robert J. Turnbull.

It must not be supposed that the "Unionists," or anti-nullifiers, were any more in favor of a protective tariff than their opponents. Their antagonism arose entirely over the method of resistance.

The theory of nullification is that the constitution is merely an elaborate treaty between sovereign nations, the states, and that there can be no common superior to judge and compel these sovereigns. The United States government is simply the agent of the associated sovereigns, and though competent to

decide all suits of law and equity, cannot, in the nature of the relations existing, judge its creators and masters in their sovereign capacity. The constitutionality of a tariff designedly for protection (an object not mentioned by the constitution in the enumerated powers), would be a point in a case of law between individuals, and thus subject, so far as that case went, to the jurisdiction of the court. It was an entirely different matter, however, for a sovereign nation (or state) to declare a certain act of the agent, Congress, acting under the treaty of union, the constitution, to be beyond the powers granted by that sovereign, and so null and void within her bounds. Accordingly, by the ordinance of nullification, all officers were forbidden, after Feb. 1, 1833, to enforce, and all citizens to obey, within South Carolina, the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832. Jurors were required to take an oath practically to decide in favor of the state in its interpretation of the constitution, and so was every civil and military official. This "iron-clad" or "test" oath, by which 23,000 citizens sought to compel 17,000 to swear away their own convictions, further embittered the already bitter struggle. Both sides armed for civil war, and whatever the constitutionality of nullification, its impracticability as an instrument of constitutional government was demonstrated on its first trial.

The so-called "compromise tariff," under the leadership of Clay, is familiar history. The duties above 20 per cent. were gradually reduced during the next ten years to that level. An informal meeting of prominent citizens, while the debate was in progress, with great common sense, but absolutely no warrant under any theory of the constitution, declared the ordinance of nullification suspended. The convention reassembled, March 11, 1833, and

on the 15th rescinded the ordinance. On the 18th the "force bill" was nullified, and the convention adjourned.

In one sense the tariff of 1833 was a compromise; but in another it was a capitulation of the United States government. The essential issue was not a high or a low schedule of duties, but whether the general government could interpret its constitution and enforce its own laws. Congress, by passing a bad and unjust tariff, in the interest of special classes in certain localities, had deprived itself of moral strength, and so could not do justice without the appearance of cringing.

Hugh S. Legare writes that the acceptance of the compromise by South Carolina was largely due to the strong Unionist party at home, from whom trouble might as surely have been expected in an extremity as from the military power of the national government.

An instructive side light on the nullification movement is the case of McCready against Hunt. McCready (the father of the historian McCrady) was elected a militia officer in Charleston. He applied to Colonel Hunt for his commission. Colonel Hunt required the "test" oath, in addition to the previous oath prescribed by the state constitution. The case reached the highest court of the state, the Court of Appeals, which, by a vote of two to one, sustained McCready and declared the oath unconstitutional. The legislature punished this attempt of a creature to nullify an act of the sovereign by abolishing the court with such a severity of resentment that from this date, 1835, it did not reëstablish a separate supreme court until 1859, but depended upon the circuit judges sitting *en banc*. But it was a matter of principle, not of personality. The three appeal judges were given seats in the chancery or law

courts by the same act that destroyed their former offices. The public men of South Carolina in the olden days were sometimes violent, but they were highminded.

The antagonisms engendered in 1832-3 long rankled in the politics of the state. J. H. Hammond, governor from 1842 to 1844, writes Calhoun in 1840: "The Union and nullification parties bear relations to each other that have not existed between any two parties in our country since the Revolution. They have stood opposed in arms, and prepared to shed each others blood, the one for, the other against, their native state, in a struggle for all she held dear, nay, for her very existence. The Union men carried the matter to the very last and blackest die of treason. They invited a foreign enemy to our shore and received arms and commissions at their hands. These things can never be forgotten. The mass of these two parties can never exist together except as the conquered and the conquerors." But nevertheless in the contest that was the subject of the letter, J. P. Richardson defeated Hammond for governor, the legislature thus in 1840 for the first time since 1832 giving a high office to a member of the Unionist party.

Dissatisfaction grew after the tariff of 1842 and the progress of abolitionism. There was talk of nullification in 1842. But even Hammond admitted that this dangerous weapon would lead to "unjust and unconstitutional rebellion everywhere." Calhoun was deeply moved, but did not see fit to repeat the program of 1832. A more extreme and more logical remedy was growing in favor—secession. As early as July 31, 1844, at a dinner at Bluffton, R. B. Rhett launched a movement for independent secession of South Carolina. But separate state action never commanded a majority, and the "Bluffton

movement," says Prof. J. F. Jameson, was "headed off by a subsequent meeting at Charleston, August 19." Calhoun wrote (October 7) that public sentiment, after being considerably excited had settled down against it; but that if Clay should be elected or Polk fail to fulfill expectations, the feelings of South Carolina "will burst forth into action."

Calhoun foresaw that the Mexican war would raise questions whose solution would endanger the very existence of the Union, and consequently advocated stopping with the peaceful acquisition of Texas. Not until after the Wilmot Proviso (1846) was he able to rally around him a united Southern party. He announced to his followers the policy of immediate secession if the slaveholder was not allowed an equal chance in occupying with his laborers the Mexican cession. The compromise measures of 1850 barely succeeded in postponing the crisis for ten years. But the events of 1846-50 had brought the leaders to look on secession no longer as a dreadful alternative to which South Carolina feared she would be driven, but as the means by which she should, as soon as practicable, be freed from a union no longer of affection. The only question remaining was of acting separately or in concert with other Southern states. In 1850 the South Carolina legislature passed a law providing for a general election of delegates to a convention of the Southern states to arrest Northern aggression or concert united secession and for a state convention to effect the secession of the state. Measures for military defense were enacted. In May, 1851, a convention in Charleston of the South Carolina Southern Rights Association favored separate state action if others would not coöperate. Twenty-seven of thirty newspapers* favored secession; the governor sought to arrange

*Another statement says thirty out of thirty-two.

for joint action with Mississippi. Secession within a few months was confidently expected; but in the test election in October, 1851, the party of immediate, separate action was decisively defeated. The same result had occurred the previous year in Mississippi; Georgia condemned the movement and Virginia strongly dissented.

But excitment was not allowed to sleep. Soon followed the fateful drama of Kansas, in the debates upon which the bitterness of feeling was faithfully symbolized in the beating given by Representative Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, to Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts. Brooks resigned and was practically unanimously reëlected.

The dilemma forced by Lincoln upon Douglas gave the cue for the dilemma which, in the convention of 1860, the men of the lower South forced upon the Democratic party. They required that the platform should commit the party to the use of the power of the Federal government to secure to the slaveholder the rights which the Dred Scott decision had declared him to possess, namely, of taking his slaves into every territory as freely and safely as the non-slaveholder did his horse. The convention feared to lose its Northern support and declined to go so far. The delegates from South Carolina, among others, revolted. Republican success followed, on a platform promising to forbid what the lower South made its condition for remaining in the Union.

The legislature of South Carolina, after choosing presidential electors instructed to vote for Breckinridge and Lane, remained in session, awaiting the result throughout the country. On learning of the election of Lincoln, they ordered an election for a convention to meet December 17. Probably in no political action have a people ever been more nearly unanimous than the people of South Carolina in

electing secession delegates to this convention. The wealthy planter considered that his property was endangered; the poor man believed that the success of the Republican party looked towards the destruction of the independence and racial purity of the white population, and both felt with the intensest conviction that the North was guilty of a long series of violations of the Federal compact for her own sectional advantage, and that she intended to use her growing power to subvert the constitution as far as her interests might dictate, with absolute disregard of the rights and interests of the South therein solemnly guaranteed.

The convention met on Dec. 17, 1860, in the First Baptist church in Columbia, the state house being uncompleted. An epidemic of smallpox drove them to Charleston, where the sessions were continued in St. Andrew's Hall. This convention and that of 1832 were the two ablest assemblies that have ever represented South Carolina. Recognizing the gravity of the crisis, the electors had chosen the best that the state afforded in experience, wisdom and patriotism. The membership included five ex-governors, a number of judges and chancellors, presidents of banks and railroads, and distinguished educators and ministers. Observers, says Rhodes, were struck with the large number of gray-haired men; and we may feel assured that, whatever the ultimate verdict of history may be as to the wisdom of the convention's action, there will be no question as to its sincere conviction of the righteousness and constitutional justification of its course.

On the 20th the brief ordinance declaring the union between South Carolina and the other states dissolved was reported by the aged Chancellor Inglis. Immediately there burst forth and continued for days the greatest demonstration of enthusiasm

that South Carolina has ever known. At the sound of the chiming bells, James L. Petigru enquired, "Where's the fire?" When informed that there was no fire, but that South Carolina was now an independent nation, he replied, "I tell you there is a fire! They have this day set a blazing torch to the temple of constitutional liberty, and, please God, we shall have no more peace forever."* Benjamin F. Perry in Greenville and a few others entertained similar views, but they were few, very few.

At 6:30 in the evening in Institute Hall, the very hall from which in the spring the South Carolina delegates had seceded from the Democratic convention, a vast audience witnessed the signing of the ordinance with impressive ceremony.

On December 24 the convention adopted an address to the people of the slaveholding states and a declaration of the causes of South Carolina's secession. These were stated to be, that thirteen Northern states had, in violation of the constitution, sought by "personal liberty laws" to deprive the South of the benefits of the fugitive slave law, a vital item in the measures which, in 1850, had led South Carolina to consent to remain in the Union; that the anti-slavery agitation rendered property in slaves insecure contrary to the entire spirit of the constitution; that a party with purposes hostile to slavery had elected their president; and that the South was oppressed by the protective tariff policy of the North.†

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*This anecdote is on the authority of the late Prof. Joseph Daniel Pope, who was the person addressed by Petigru.

†This last item was carried by R. B. Rhett, against some opposition; for since 1846 the tariff had been on a revenue basis. Both Senators and all the Representatives of South Carolina voted for the tariff of 1857; the Confederate Congress reënacted the act, and South Carolina made no protest. Rhett urged, with other reasons, that this clause would tend to secure the sympathy of England, France, and Germany. Rhett had been one of the fiercest anti-tariff men since the nullification period.

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DAVID DUNCAN WALLACE,
Professor of History and Economics, Wofford College.

CHAPTER III.

SOUTH CAROLINA IN THE CONFEDERACY, 1860-1865.

The Secession Movement.

Although South Carolina was the first of the states to carry the principle of secession to the point of war, she was not the first to suggest a resort to disunion as a means of self-defense. As long ago as 1796 a governor of Connecticut proposed that the Northern states should protect themselves by withdrawing from the Union, if Jefferson were elected President. When Lincoln was elected President, South Carolina, to protect herself, actually withdrew. So unstable at that time was the notion of an indissoluble union that, upon the very eve of war, some of the leading men of New York urged that the port should declare itself a "free" city. The chief difference seems to be that South Carolina was prepared, though reluctantly and as a desperate resort, to put to the test of war the principle of state sovereignty, which had been publicly accepted and

defended by enlightened thinkers in every state since the formation of the Union.

The idea of secession, so far as it relates to South Carolina, may be traced to the first agitation against protective tariffs, especially the tariff of 1828, which soon became known as the Nullification movement. That tariff committed the country to the policy of encouraging domestic manufactures at the sacrifice of the far greater interests of agriculture. It threatened to destroy the export trade, of which the products of agriculture comprised about eight-ninths. The South contributed about three-fourths of all the agricultural exports. Of the entire export trade, amounting to $55,700,193, the South contributed $34,072,655, in cotton, tobacco, and rice. South Carolina's share of this large export trade was, in 1829, $8,175,586, or nearly one-fourth. The export of Southern cotton alone amounted to $26,575,311. In the circumstances, the South could see only a distant and doubtful benefit, through developed manufactures, as an offset to the injury or destruction of its extensive and remunerative foreign trade.

As we have seen, the tariff of 1828 was the special grievance of South Carolina. John C. Calhoun and Robert Y. Hayne contended that, under the accepted principle of state sovereignty, South Carolina had the right to nullify this or any other Federal statute. These leaders did not propose secession, but took the ground that a state could declare a law of the United States void and still remain in the Union. Calhoun, who was then Vice-President, was devoted to the idea of a Union, but felt that the Union could be made powerful and permanent only by preserving the original ideal of sovereign states. The logical inference from such a principle was, of course, secession; and the insistence upon it made secession possible at any time, as a measure of self-defense

ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

in any controversy between the state and the Federal government. Hayne's brilliant speech in the Senate in 1830, against the Foot Resolution, was, in effect, the first warning of such a rupture, and the final echo of that speech came thirty years later in the Ordinance of Secession.

The North and East rightly feared that Hayne's speech was in the nature of a manifesto from the South. Such it doubtless was; yet even in South Carolina the doctrine of state sovereignty was not considered as even remotely involving secession. It required a still heavier pressure upon the state of unequal tariff laws and the imminent menace of still heavier burdens and sacrifices to force the people to consider a resort to withdrawal from the Union and possible war.

The practical and immediate purpose of South Carolina in the Nullification movement was to force concessions, and the Ordinance of Nullification, passed Nov. 24, 1832, was suspended when Congress was considering concessions. The compromise proposed by Clay, which provided a reduction of tariff duties by a sliding scale until there should be a duty of only 20 per cent. on all articles, embodied the minimum concessions demanded by this state.

Nullification had won a half victory. It had succeeded in having repealed the laws it opposed, but the principle of nullification was not recognized. Disunion had been postponed, but the grave peril had not passed.

The old controversy over state sovereignty soon shifted to the question of slavery, and it was upon this practical question that South Carolina was finally to resort to secession as a test of the old theory of state rights. "For twenty-five years," says the "Declaration of the Immediate Cause" of the secession of South Carolina, "this agitation [against

slavery] has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the Common government." The event referred to was the election of Abraham Lincoln as President. South Carolina, like her Southern sisters, had hazarded everything on the issue of the campaign of 1860, and the election of Lincoln meant secession. The shock and the feeling of despair produced in this state by the triumph of a party known to be so hostile to the interests of the South is graphically presented by a famous passage in the "Declaration":

"A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the states north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be intrusted with the administration of the Common Government, because he has declared that that 'Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free,' and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction."

While South Carolina thus admitted that the immediate cause of secession was the threat of the abolition of slavery, she grounded the justice of her course upon the reserved right of a sovereign state.

The Sentiment of the People.

The sentiment of the people toward the Union was doubtless the same as that of the people of Georgia, as described by Robert Toombs. "Our people," he said, "are still attached to the Union from habit, national tradition, and aversion to change." But they were practically a unit as to the right of secession. They neither desired nor expected war; yet it has been said:

"Fifty thousand South Carolinians voted for secession. Seventy-five thousand stood for it on the field of battle."*

*Report of the Historian of the *Confederate Records* to the General Assembly of South Carolina, by John P. Thomas.

Mrs. Mary Boykin Chestnut, in *A Diary from Dixie,* describes the situation strongly and characteristically. Under date of June 12, 1861, she writes: "Mr. Petigru [James L. Petigru, who was a Union man] alone in South Carolina has not seceded."

The state's response to Lincoln's election and its menace to her interests was prompt and imperative. A convention summoned by the legislature, met in Columbia Dec. 17, 1860, but immediately removed to Charleston, where, on December 20, it passed the Ordinance of Secession. The men that drafted that momentous document realized the heavy responsibility that bore upon them and upon their state; and, waiving all vain protestations and preambles and statements of causes, issued a straightforward declaration, that "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved."

Argument, the reasoned statement of her grievance, and the appeal to the judgment of her sister states and mankind were reserved; and the convention completed its work by drafting and sending forth two notable documents. These were the "Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," and "The Address of the People of South Carolina, Assembled in Convention, to the People of the Slaveholding States of the United States." It is noteworthy that "The Address" closes with this appeal to the other Southern states: "We ask you to join us in forming a Confederacy of Slaveholding States."

And thus, calmly and with dignity, South Carolina turned to face new horizons and a new destiny.

South Carolina's Part in Forming the Confederate Government.

South Carolina, by virtue of her leadership in the secession movement was clearly entitled to the leadership in the formation of the Confederacy of slaveholding states that she had suggested in "The Address." But from the time that disunion began to seem probable, that is, at least as early as the Southern convention at Nashville, Tennessee, in 1850, she waived her own claims and pressed that honor upon Virginia. Langdon Cheves, who spoke for South Carolina in that convention, said: "If our great parent state lead us, there will be no bloodshed; and can it be doubted that she will? Virginia is the mother of the Southern states."

Modesty and unselfishness, indeed, marked the organization of the Confederate government. After declaring her own independence, and formally inviting her sisters to join her, South Carolina appointed commissioners to the several Southern states and elected deputies to meet those of all other states that might secede, for the purpose of forming a provisional government. It was upon the invitation of Alabama that the delegates of the various states assembled in Montgomery, Feb. 4, 1861. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was chosen president on motion of Robert Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, one of the most energetic and able leaders in the secession movement.

The marked ability and experience in public affairs of the leading men in South Carolina was, however, fully recognized by the Convention of Deputies. C. G. Memminger was given the chairmanship of the committee to report a plan for a provisional organization, and he and Rhett took a conspicuous and notable part in the formation of the new government. Mr. Rhett was selected as chair-

man of the committee to draft a constitution for a permanent government, and he had a large and honorable share in the task. He was afterward chairman of the committee on foreign affairs in the Confederate Congress.

When President Davis formed his cabinet, C. G. Memminger was made secretary of the treasury, and held that important post until July, 1864, when he was succeeded by another South Carolinian, George A. Trenholm.

While South Carolina yielded place to Virginia in leadership, and never attempted to take a foremost part in the Confederate government, she was second to none in the ability and patriotic service of the men she sent to the cabinet as to the field.

In both sessions of the Confederate Congress South Carolina was represented in the Senate by Robert W. Barnwell and James L. Orr.

The War in South Carolina.

Actual hostilities naturally began in South Carolina, where Fort Sumter, seized and held by a small Federal force under Major Robert Anderson, was the object of solicitude by the state and national governments. Had Anderson remained in Fort Moultrie, Sullivan's Island, where he was stationed up to the evening of Dec. 26, 1860, war might possibly have been averted; but his removal to Fort Sumter, which menaced Charleston and dominated the harbor, could be understood only as a show of force and a prelude to hostilities. Preparations for war began in deadly earnest from the moment it was seen that the Union garrison had assumed a threatening position.

The South Carolina troops, however, did not begin operations to get possession of this absolutely essential post until Jan. 9, 1861. Governor Pickens

dispatched his aide-de-camp, Col. Johnston Pettigrew, accompanied by Major Ellison Capers, to Major Anderson on the morning of December 27, and demanded that the garrison return immediately to Fort Moultrie. This the Federal officer refused to do, although saying that his sympathies were "entirely with the South." The same afternoon he raised the United States flag over Sumter and prepared the fort for action.

In the meanwhile the Federal government had forwarded reinforcements and supplies to Major Anderson, in the *Star of the West,* which entered Charleston harbor January 9. Her course lay under the guns of a battery on Morris Island commanded by Major P. F. Stevens, superintendent of the South Carolina Military Academy, and a warning shot was fired across her bows. As she did not heed this, the battery fired directly upon her, and she put about and steamed out of range.

South Carolina thus began the war for state rights single-handed against the whole power of the Union. But by Feb. 1, 1861, she had been joined by Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and Texas soon followed.

A remarkable lull followed the firing upon the *Star of the West.* For three months, while the Confederacy was being organized and South Carolina was marshalling her troops, Major Anderson was permitted to hold Fort Sumter. Finally, on April 12-13, General Beauregard bombarded the fort for thirty-three hours, when the Federals capitulated. Fort Sumter was at once occupied by the Confederate troops, and, although subjected to the most terrific bombardments recorded in history up to that time, was never retaken. During the long siege and series of assaults, Fort Sumter was under the command successively of Colonel Rhett, Major El-

liott, and Captains Mitchel and Huguenin. The chief work of repairing the fort for continued defense after it had been leveled to the water's edge was performed by Capt. (afterward Major) John Johnson, engineer-in-charge. The fortress was evacuated only after the entire coast of the state had been abandoned.

The defense of Charleston is memorable, also, for the greater development of torpedoes in harbor defense, their first use in this way having been by the Confederates in the Potomac River, July 7, 1861; and for the practical creation of the torpedo boat, now used in every navy of the world.

The military movements in South Carolina, outside of the defense of Fort Sumter, were not on a large scale or of great significance, except the siege of "Battery" or Fort Wagner, and Sherman's march through the state. In November, 1861, the Federals began operations against the sea-coast. A Union fleet of seventeen vessels, carrying 12,000 troops under Gen. W. T. Sherman, occupied with little opposition the region about Port Royal and Beaufort. Beaufort, then one of the wealthiest and most cultured cities of its size in the world, was given over to pillage. The entire seaboard, with its extensive plantations and handsome houses, was ravaged and the lands and property confiscated. It was, indeed, apparent from the first that the chief object of the Federals was looting and devastation.

Numerous small expeditions were sent inland to destroy the railway between Savannah and Charleston. Two of these were defeated at Pocotaligo, another at Coosawhatchie, and a Union gunboat, the *Isaac Smith,* was captured in a brilliant attack by infantry and siege batteries, under the command of Col. Joseph A. Yates. A more serious affair was the battle of Secessionville, on James Island, June

16, 1862. Here the Federals, about 6,000 strong, attacked 750 men under Gen. Johnson Hagood at Fort Lamar, and were defeated, with a loss of 683, the Confederate loss being 204. This defeat led to the evacuation of James Island by the Union troops.

The long and desperate defense of Fort Wagner ranks next to that of Fort Sumter in point of heroism and endurance. For fifty-eight days, from July 10 to Sept. 6, 1863, a Confederate force of 1,600 men, under Col. L. M. Keitt, resisted the assaults of an army of 11,500 under General Gillmore, aided by eight monitors and five gunboats. The total loss by the defenders was only 672 killed and wounded. Like Fort Sumter, Wagner was not captured. It was quietly abandoned when further resistance was useless from a military point of view and would have been a fruitless sacrifice of life.

After the operations along the seaboard, and the long but hopeless defense of the Confederates, South Carolina lay invitingly open to bands of raiders and to the pillage of Sherman's army, which was then moving up from Savannah. This vast raid was ushered in by another attempt, ordered by General Sherman, to cut the railway to Charleston which resulted in the small but brilliant action at Honey Hill, Nov. 30, 1864. Here 1,700 Confederates, under the general command of Major-General Gustavus W. Smith, but ordered directly by Col. Charles J. Colcock, defeated a force of 5,000 Federals under Gen. John P. Hatch. This decisive victory delayed the disturbance of Charleston and gave to General Hardee, commanding at Savannah, an open road for retreat.

General Sherman began his great raid through the centre of the state Feb. 1, 1865. The spirit in which he entered the "Cradle of Secession" may be justly inferred from his order for "Potter's

Raid," probably the most ruthless looting and pillaging expedition during the war. "I don't feel disposed," he said, "to be over-generous, and should not hesitate to burn Charleston, Savannah and Wilmington, or either of them, if the garrisons are needed." This order was issued after he had burned Columbia, which accounts for the omission of the South Carolina capital.

Charleston, cut off by the advance of General Sherman with 70,000 troops toward Columbia, was evacuated Feb. 17-18, 1865. General Hardee had only 13,500 effectives, of whom 3,000 were state militia. The Federal march could not be resisted. Hardee's delay in withdrawing from Charleston made any concentration of Confederate troops in front of Sherman impossible, though it is certain it would have been in vain, as, at the utmost, not more than 20,000 men, poorly armed and provisioned, and many of them raw levies, composed in large part of mere boys, could have been assembled.

Gen. Wade Hampton, who had recently been put in command in South Carolina, evacuated Columbia on the same day, February 17, that Hardee began his withdrawal from Charleston, and General Sherman immediately entered the defenseless capital.

That General Sherman burned Columbia, though long denied by that officer and by Northern historians, is now fully established. Federal courts have judicially admitted that the city was destroyed by Union troops, and there were many trustworthy eye-witnesses to that wanton act. It may be sufficient to quote but one. The Rev. A. Toomer Porter in a sermon in 1891, said that he was in Columbia at the time, and adds: "General Sherman's troops burnt the town; I saw that done by them."

The fact is frequently overlooked that Sherman finally confessed that he burned the city. In his

Memoirs he says: "The army, having totally ruined Columbia, moved on toward Winnsboro."

The march of the Federals toward the North was practically unopposed, because of the withdrawal of General Hardee's small army for the purpose of concentrating as large a force as possible in front of Sherman in North Carolina. The pillaging and destroying host, therefore, passed out of the state and reached Fayetteville, North Carolina, March 11, 1865.

The State's Contribution in Men and Property.

Unfortunately, so many of the Confederate records were destroyed by Federal raiders or were lost in the universal confusion at the end of the war that it is impossible to ascertain with exactness the number of troops and the amount of supplies and money given by South Carolina to the support of the Confederacy. Enough is well known, however, to show that she contributed more than her due share. Supplies of provisions and money, spent chiefly, of course, in the equipment of her own forces, were provided without stint and without regret for the terrible sacrifices it involved. The defense of her coast, particularly the long resistance to the Federals at Forts Sumter and Wagner and along the entire seaboard, subjected her probably to a greater cost in money and provisions than that borne by any other Southern state. This stripping of the commonwealth of all her property, either to keep her troops in the field, or by bands and armies of raiders, left her more destitute, perhaps, than any equal portion of the Confederacy.

As to her contribution in troops, it has been carefully estimated that she sent at least 75,000 men to the field, although the total number of her troops that fought under regular organization and as home defenders must have reached about 85,000. This

is marvelous when it is recalled that in 1860 the white population of the state was only 291,388. In 1900, when the white population amounted to 557,900, the number of white males of twenty-one years and over was 127,000, or a little more than one in four, including of course many who were incapacitated by age or sickness. Yet South Carolina sent to the firing line one man or boy for a little more than every three persons in her borders. As the white people decreased 1,596 between 1860 and 1870, there could not have been much reinforcement from the natural growth of population.

South Carolina also contributed to the Confederate army some of its most efficient and brilliant commanders. The name of Gen. Wade Hampton is most conspicuous. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston credited him with saving the day at First Manassas. In the same battle the state lost a dashing and skillful leader in Gen. Barnard E. Bee, who in that fight gave to General Jackson his sobriquet of "Stonewall." Among the general officers that greatly distinguished themselves, most of them upon fields in other states, may also be mentioned, Generals R. H. Anderson, M. C. Butler, Stephen D. Lee, Benjamin Huger, Joseph B. Kershaw, Stephen Elliott, M. W. Gary, M. L. Bonham, Ellison Capers, James Conner, Maxcy Gregg, Micah Jenkins, Johnson Hagood, John S. Preston, S. R. Ripley, John Bratton, J. D. Kennedy, A. M. Manigault, Samuel McGowan, W. H. Wallace, James Trapier. General Hampton's brilliant services as a leader of cavalry, finally as chief of Lee's mounted troops, were such as to entitle him to rank among the first great cavalry leaders of the Confederacy and of the world. Of officers of lesser rank the state furnished a large number, of whom many won distinction.

Other distinguished leaders, natives of South

Carolina, but serving from other states, were: Generals James Longstreet, D. H. Hill, E. McIver Law, and P. M. B. Young.

Life in War-Time.

The people of South Carolina felt the first and most terrible afflictions of the war. Their rich seaboard was devastated, the slaves of the planters were driven or taken off, and homes and all personal property destroyed or looted. Entire communities and towns, like the various sea-islands and Beaufort, were given over to ruthless pillage and destruction. The policy of useless devastation initiated by Generals Hunter and Sherman was continued as the invaders advanced through the state. Colonel Shaw, who was killed at Fort Wagner at the head of a negro regiment from Massachusetts, describes in a letter the method of one of these destroyers:

"After the town was pretty thoroughly disemboweled, he [Colonel Montgomery] said to me, 'I shall burn this town.'" And he did.

This destruction of homes and property forced thousands of women and children to "refugee," as it was called. These dispersed over the upper part of the state or found precarious shelter outside of its borders.

Terrible as was the suffering of the refugees, they fared better than most of the defenseless women who had to remain at home to be insulted by a ruffian soldiery and see their property stolen or destroyed. A single typical incident must suffice to convey some idea of the conduct of Federal raiders. The worst of these was General Potter, and the incident occurred near Manning during his infamous raid. The account is taken from *Our Women in the War:*

"A negro servant told them that Mr. B. had buried a quantity of gold and silver down in the cemetery on the edge of the town. This was

CHARLESTON, S. C., IN 1861, LOOKING ACROSS COOPER'S RIVER.

true, for Mr. B. was such an old man, so venerable, universally beloved and respected, that no one thought the Yankees would be cruel enough to molest him, and many persons in the town had entrusted their valuables to his keeping. After receiving this information from the servant, the soldiers at once seized the old man and dragged him down to the cemetery, commanding him to unearth his treasure. He refused, and they tried many plans to force him into yielding. Among other ways of punishment they tried a novel one, for with a hoopskirt they had picked up somewhere they hung him until life was almost extinct. This is the only case on record, I think, where that much-abused article has ever been put to such use. Thinking him sufficiently subdued after this, they took him down, but still the brave old man remained true to his trust, and they at last had to release him."

Columbia suffered worse than any other city of the state. It was looted and burned, as an act of brute revenge, for its destruction was useless as a measure of war.

The havoc wrought in Charleston is described as follows by J. N. Cardozo in his *Reminiscences of Charleston:*

"The destructive course of the shell thrown into the city was most evident, while the fire has left melancholy traces of its destructive course on both the eastern and western portions, crossing its entire width, and leaving long intervals of desolate waste in the destruction of churches, theatre, and public hall. The area consumed is about one-sixth of the city, nearly one mile in superficial extent."

A Northern writer, Sidney Andrews, says that $5,000,000 would not restore the ruin in Charleston. As to the devastation practised in other parts of the state he says:

"It would seem that it is not clearly understood how thoroughly Sherman's army destroyed everything in its line of march — destroyed it without questioning who suffered by the action. * * The value and the bases of values were nearly all destroyed. Money lost about everything it had saved. Thousands of men who were honest in purpose have lost everything but honor. The cotton with which they meant to pay their debts has been burned, and they are without other means."

Even the end of hostilities did not stop the pillaging. Federal officers plundered farms and houses and seized cotton and other property for themselves.

No adequate estimate could be made of the losses suffered by South Carolina. In slave-property alone

the loss must have amounted to many millions. The value of the 4,000,000 slaves in the South in 1860 has been calculated as $3,000,000,000. This is probably excessive, but with some allowance, the 412,320 slaves in this state in 1860 must have represented something like $200,000,000. The loss in looted property and in confiscated lands and destroyed buildings may be set down as fully as much, or, including the long drain of war supplies and abandoned farms and businesses, South Carolina's loss could not have been less than $500,000,000. So stricken were the people and so stripped was the land that the state has not yet recovered from the immeasurable catastrophe.

The Negro Slaves.

One feature of the life of the people during the war might be understood, as essential to the appreciation of relations between the slaves and their owners. The fidelity of the slave was, indeed, one of the most remarkable experiences of the war. Many of them followed their young masters into a war that was being waged largely for their emancipation. Arthur F. Ford, in his *Life in the Confederate Army* gives a characteristic account of the devotion of the negro as camp servant:

"During the early period of the war a great many of the private soldiers in the Confederate army had their own negro servants in the field with them, who waited on their masters, cleaned their horses, cooked their meals, and so on. Attached to our company there were probably twenty-five such servants. This system continued during the first year or two of the war, on the Carolina coast, but later on, as the service got harder and rations became scarcer, these negro servants were gradually sent back home, and the men did their own work, cooking, and so on. As a rule, these negroes liked the life exceedingly. The work exacted of them was necessarily very light. They were never under fire, unless they chose to go there of their own accord, which some of them did, keeping close to their masters. And they spent much of their time foraging around the neighboring country. Although often on the picket lines, night as well as day, with their masters, I never heard of an instance where one of these army servants deserted to the enemy."

An even stronger tribute must be paid to the negroes that remained at home, refusing to desert to the armies of liberation. Although there were about 120,000 more negroes than white people in the state, the women and children were unmolested. Often, indeed, the slaves risked or lost their lives in protecting the property and persons of their owners. It is to be doubted if any other war produced such noble examples of the loyalty of a people in such an ordeal.

Bibliography.—There are very few works, authoritative or otherwise, dealing fully with this period in South Carolina. The references to it are to be found, chiefly, scattered through a number of memoirs and reminiscences, together with quite a large number of pamphlets. All, at least most, of these have been consulted in the preparation for the foregoing article, and the most useful and accessible are included in the list below.

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WILLIAM E. GONZALES,
Editor of The State, Columbia, S. C.

CHAPTER IV.

SOUTH CAROLINA, 1865-1909.

Reconstruction in South Carolina.

There is no *new* South Carolina. Her boundary lines and her physical features remain unchanged. Her population within the dates named has not been affected by either emigration or immigration. Within the past forty-three years marvelous changes have occurred in the social, industrial, political and educational condition of the state, and South Carolinians have directed, and are directing, all these mighty movements. The same old stock works the same old soil under greatly changed and rapidly changing conditions.

The year 1865 was a dark year—the very darkest—in the annals of the Palmetto state. In February Sherman's army marched northward from Savannah, burning the towns of Barnwell, Orangeburg, Columbia, Winnsboro, Camden and Bennettsville; applying the torch to many public buildings (including churches) and private residences; tearing up the railroads, burning the cross-ties and twisting the rails; living on the country and utterly destroying

such supplies as the Northern troops did not consume—even the pig in the pen, the chickens in the yard, and the milch cow in the lot—in order that nothing might be left that could be used to support the soldiers of the Southern armies. Woodrow Wilson says: "Sherman traversed South Carolina in the opening months of 1865, ruthlessly destroying and burning as he went. * * * His terrible march through Georgia and the Carolinas was almost unprecedented in modern warfare for its pitiless and detailed rigor and thoroughness of destruction and devastation. It illustrated the same deliberate and business-like purpose of destroying utterly the power of the South that had shown itself in the refusal of the Federal government to exchange prisoners with the Confederacy." None save those who saw and suffered realize the condition of the people living in the track of Sherman's army in the spring of 1865.

In April the Southern armies surrendered. South Carolina, with a voting population in 1860 of 40,000, had furnished over 65,000 soldiers, including boys in their teens and gray-haired men in their sixties, to the armies of the Confederacy. The survivors, "heroes in gray, with hearts of gold," came straggling home, many of them afoot, and went to work cheerfully to make a living for their families and to restore the waste places—to build anew the commonwealth they loved so well—as loyal to their paroles as they had been to the cause of Southern independence.

These Southern soldiers and their sons and grandsons have been and are the leaders and the workers in all those movements through which, to use the words of Professor N. S. Shaler, of Harvard, "the economic condition has steadily and swiftly bettered, until at the present time (1904) the district which

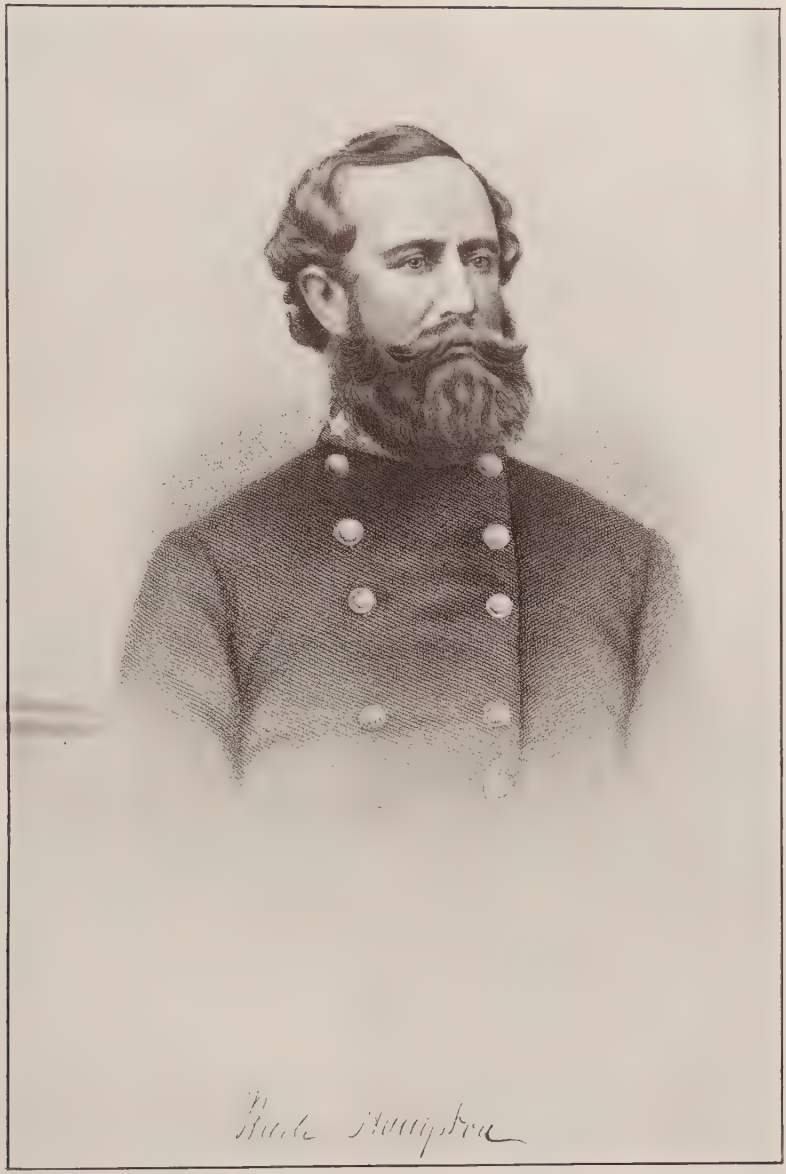
thirty-five years ago was the most impoverished ever occupied by an English people is perhaps the most prosperous of its fields."

Grant's magnanimous treatment of Lee and his faithful followers at Appomattox had moved the Southern heart to its lowest depths. The men of the South had fought well, had been overpowered, and were willing to shake hands and live in peace. Lincoln's kindness of heart and his zeal for the Union led many to hope that peaceful relations between the sections would soon be restored. "We must let 'em up easy" was his own quaint way of expressing, but a few days before his untimely death, his feelings towards the South and his views of the restoration of the seceded states.

Wade Hampton, a wise and skilful leader of his troops in war and of his people in peace, had hardly laid away his Confederate uniform before we hear his voice in Columbia, where the secession convention had met, pleading with his people to accept the situation resulting from the surrender, favoring fair treatment, including the education of the late slaves, and the gradual granting of the suffrage to the negro.

But, unfortunately for South Carolina, for the whole South and for our entire country, other views than those of Lincoln and Hampton were to prevail, other plans were to be pursued, and the "hell of reconstruction" had to be endured for twelve long years. This period, save in the one respect of the loss of human life, was infinitely more disastrous to the social, industrial and political conditions of South Carolina than the four years lying between the seizure of Fort Sumter and the surrender at Appomattox.

At the close of the war A. G. Magrath was governor. There was but the semblance of civil authority. The governor directed that all district and


Wade Hampton

municipal officers should exercise their functions for the maintenance of peace and order. He was so soon sent, as a prisoner, to Fort Pulaski, Savannah, that even the appearance of any power, save that of the army of the United States, was altogether wanting. There was no organized state government, no central civil authority, no militia, to which the people might look for the protection of life and property. The government of the United States, acting by its military officers, was in actual possession of the territory, and in actual control of the entire population of South Carolina. There was no trial by jury. The question of guilt or innocence was decided by the post commander, or the provost-marshal, or the provost court, or the military commission, according to the grade of the offense. There was harshness of administration, there was arbitrary use of power, there were instances of injustice, but all this recognized, it may now be conceded that the presence of the troops conduced to the maintenance of peace.

The garrisons were at first of white troops entirely. Soon came the negro soldiers, the use of which, essentially cruel, was likewise reckless in the extreme. These negro soldiers were commonly arrogant, frequently impertinent, sometimes insulting. They were even lawless, brutish, and in not a few instances, murderers.

To recall those days is like thinking of a horrible dream. When the novelist of to-day tells of the brutal conduct of those black troops, the young reader asks, in amazement, "Can such things be true?" When the actor shows, on the stage, the occurrences of that dark and troublous period, audiences are so moved that municipal authorities deem it wise to prohibit the exhibition. Yet no man then living disputes the truth of the novel or the drama.

President Andrew Johnson, a native of North Carolina, who had, when a young man, worked as a tailor in an up-country town of South Carolina, undertook the task of "reconstructing" the state, and seemed disposed to carry out the policy of President Lincoln. Public meetings were held in different sections. In these, resolutions were unanimously adopted expressing the earnest desire of the people for the reëstablishment of civil government. Committees from these meetings went to Washington, laid before the President the condition of affairs, and asked him to appoint a "provisional governor." To this office B. F. Perry was appointed. This was a wise selection. Perry was a native of one of the mountain counties, had been all his life a "Union" man and an opponent of both nullification and secession. When South Carolina seceded, however, he went "with his state" and used his great influence with his followers to persuade them to enter the Confederate army. He accepted the appointment and immediately went to work upon the basis agreed upon by the President and other prominent Northern men for the reconstruction of the state. Increased confidence in the future was immediately felt all over the state. Governor Perry issued an ably written proclamation which was received with enthusiasm by all, and a hope of rescue from what seemed absolute ruin was fondly cherished. Civil government was restored; a convention of the people was called, and on Oct. 18, 1865, a governor and members of the legislature were elected.

James L. Orr was elected governor, receiving 9,928 votes. Wade Hampton received 9,185 votes, though he had positively refused to run, and had urged his friends all over the state not to vote for him. William D. Porter, of Charleston, was elected lieutenant-governor, receiving 15,072 votes.

The legislature, often locally spoken of as "the last white man's legislature,"—the last for whose members white men only were allowed to vote, was a truly representative body, and contained many of the ablest and most eminent men of the state, men who had been leaders of their own people in peace and in war; men who, a decade later, led their people out of reconstruction darkness into the unprecedented prosperity of the last thirty years.

From the people's dream there was a rude awakening. Some years had to pass before South Carolina could be called a state. The legislature, at the session of 1865, passed an act known as the "Black Code." It discriminated between whites and blacks as citizens; provided separate courts for the trial of all civil and criminal causes, and did not give the negroes the ballot nor the full right of citizenship equally with the whites. Whether this action of the legislature was used as a pretext, or whether Congress and the Northern people would have acted as they did anyway, a great change soon came over the political sky. The United States senators-elect, Benjamin F. Perry (long term) and John L. Manning (short term), and the members of Congress, John D. Kennedy, William Aiken, Samuel McGowan and James Farrow, elected Nov. 22, 1865, were not allowed to take their seats. (It is interesting to note, however, that in the proclamation from Washington, dated Dec. 18, 1865, South Carolina was included in the necessary number of states which had ratified the Thirteenth amendment and thus made it a part of the Federal constitution).

A generation later Dr. Dunning, of Columbia University, in his *Reconstruction—Political and Eco-*

nomic, in discussing the so-called "Black Code" uses these words:

"To a distrustful Northern mind such legislation could very easily take the form of a systematic attempt to relegate the freedman to a subjection only less complete than that from which the war had set them free. The radicals sounded a shrill note of alarm.* * * In Congress, Wilson, Sumner, and other extremists took up the cry, and with superfluous ingenuity distorted the spirit and purpose of both the law and the lawmakers of the South. The 'black codes' were represented to be the expression of a deliberate purpose by the Southerners to nullify the results of the war and to reëstablish slavery, and this impression gained wide prevalence in the North.

"Yet, as a matter of fact, this legislation, far from embodying any spirit of defiance toward the North, or any purpose to evade the conditions which the victors had imposed, was, in the main, a conscientious and straightforward attempt to bring some sort of order out of the social and economic chaos which a full acceptance of the results of the war and emancipation involved. In its general principle it corresponded very closely to the actual facts of the situation."

Military government was reëstablished. Generals Sickles and Canby were, in the order named, the military governors. The latter, under authority of acts of Congress, ordered an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, to meet Jan. 14, 1868. This election was held Nov. 19-20, 1867, and resulted as follows: for the convention, 130 whites and 68,876 blacks; against the convention, 2,801. One hundred and twenty-four delegates were elected, and each was furnished a copy of General Canby's order which was "evidence of his having been elected a delegate to the aforesaid convention." Forty-eight delegates were white, seventy-six colored. The whites, classed as Republicans, were about equally divided as natives and newcomers—in the vernacular of the times "scallawags" and "carpetbaggers." The previous residences of twenty-three whites were given as South Carolina, nineteen other states, two England, one each Ireland, Prussia, Denmark, and one unknown. Fifty-nine negroes had previously resided in South Carolina; nine in eight different states, one in Dutch Guiana, and the previous resi-

dence of six was "unknown." The convention was in session two months, and framed a constitution, modeled after that of one of the great Northern states, that met the requirements of the "war amendments" of the Constitution of the United States; and that, with few amendments, was the constitution of the state for twenty-seven years—nineteen years after the whites resumed control of the state government.

For about three years (1865-68) the state was under a dual government—civil and military. The military, while dominant, permitted the civil government to have a form of life. Governor Orr was a man of ability. He, like Governor Perry, was a native of the "up-country," a graduate of the University of Virginia, lawyer and editor, thirteen years a member of the state legislature, ten years a member of Congress, elected Speaker of the House in 1857. While a firm believer in the right of secession, he opposed separate state action, and his influence in the Southern Rights convention, held in Charleston in 1851, probably prevented that body from passing the secession ordinance framed for its adoption. When South Carolina, nine years later, did secede, he raised a regiment of riflemen for the Confederate service which he commanded until 1862, when he was elected a member of the Confederate Congress. His position as governor was anomalous, regularly elected by the people, but permitted by the United States government to hold the place only as provisional governor until the state could be reconstructed after the "Congressional plan."

Under this plan the state had three governors—Robert K. Scott, an Ohio carpetbagger, who served two terms; Franklin J. Moses, Jr., "scallawag," licentiate and debauché, "the robber governor," the

prince of thieves, and Daniel H. Chamberlain, a cultivated New Englander. James S. Pike, of Maine, a strong anti-slavery man before the war and a consistent Republican, visited South Carolina in 1873, and his remarkable book, *The Prostrate State,* was perhaps the first intimation to the northern mind of the doings of reconstruction leaders. After him came Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews, whose masterful pen pictures showed what crimes were being committed in the name of free government. Since these pioneers, historians and novelists have found South Carolina, between 1868 and 1876, a rich field for exploration. Let us look at a few of their "finds." In 1860 the state's taxable property, exclusive of the slaves, was $316,000,000, and the annual taxes $392,000. In 1871 the taxable property was $184,000,000, and the taxes $2,000,000. A public debt of less than $7,000,000 in 1868 had become, by the end of 1871, nearly $29,000,000 actual and contingent.

The state house was refurnished on this scale: $5 clocks were replaced by others costing $600; $4 looking-glasses by $600 mirrors; $2 window curtains by curtains costing from $600 to $1,500; $4 benches by $200 sofas; $1 chairs by $60 chairs; $4 tables by $80 tables; $10 desks by $175 desks; forty-cent spittoons by $14 cuspidors. Chandeliers were bought that cost $1,500 to $2,500 each. Each legislator was provided with Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, a $25 calendar inkstand, $10 gold pen. Railroad passes and free use of the Western Union Telegraph were perquisites. As "committee rooms" forty bedrooms were furnished each session, and the legislators going home carried with them the furniture. At restaurant and bar, open day and night in the state house, legislators refreshed themselves and friends at state expense with delicacies, wines, liquors and cigars,

stuffing their pockets with the last. F. J. Moses, Jr., Speaker of the House, lost $1,000 on a horse race, and on the next day the House voted him $1,000 as a "gratuity."

"Bills made by officials and legislators and paid by the state reveal a queer medley! Costly liquors, wines, cigars, baskets of champagne, hams, oysters, rice, flour, lard, coffee, tea, sugar, suspenders, linen-bosom shirts, cravats, collars, gloves (masculine and feminine, by the box), perfumes, bustles, corsets, palpitators, embroidered flannel, ginghams, silks, velvets, stockings, chignons, chemises, gowns, garters, fans, gold watches and chains, diamond finger-rings and ear-rings, Russia leather workboxes, hats, bonnets; in short, every article of furniture and house furnishing from a full parlor set to a baby's swinging cradle, not omitting a $100 metallic coffin."—*Avary.*

There lies on the writer's desk a photograph group of sixty-three members of the "reconstructed" legislature of South Carolina—fifty negroes, or mulattoes, and thirteen white men. Twenty-two could read and write, forty-one "made their mark" in place of signing their names, forty-four paid no taxes, nineteen were taxpayers to an aggregate of $146.10.

The reader wonders why South Carolinians submitted. The reason is respect for and fear of the government at Washington. Why President Grant and those associated with him in authority gave moral and physical support so long—the two terms of Grant's presidency—to such men and such measures is a marvel alike to those who read of and those who remember the dark days of Reconstruction.

The election to the bench of Whipper (negro) and Moses (renegade white) roused the entire state. Governor Chamberlain, their political associate, re-

fused to sign their commissions. The Democrats nominated Wade Hampton for governor and a full state ticket. Then came the memorable "Red shirt campaign" of 1876. "Hampton or Military Rule" was the deep-seated determination of the entire white population. Hampton won by a small majority. The Republicans refused to submit. Then came the "dual government," with its awful suspenses, for about five months. President Hayes, very soon after his inauguration, withdrew the Federal troops from the state house. Chamberlain's so-called government immediately collapsed, and Carolinians once more ruled Carolina.

New Social Conditions.

"De bottom rail's on de top, now, and we's gwine to keep it dar," was a favorite expression of negro leaders during the time of their political supremacy. The first statement is an accurate description. Never in the history of any people had such a social earthquake occurred. The opening of the year found the negroes in slavery not only contented, but happy, loyal to their masters, taking no thought for the morrow. Within a few months they were free, and, so far as man's laws and garrisons of conquerors could make them, citizens of the country, superiors of their late masters, many of whom were disfranchised. Negroes were then taught by designing leaders that they were as good as white men, entitled to sit in the white man's parlor, to take to wife the white man's daughter. Thus the wind was sown. To this day our country has been reaping the whirlwind. The negro rapist, the black brute, fear of whom hangs like a dark cloud all over the south land—who is in latter days found and lynched—in states beyond the limits of the late Confederacy, is a direct product of the teachings and practices of the

days of reconstruction. The crime against womanhood, and the awful vengeance that swiftly follows—in short, rape and lynching—make one of our new social conditions.

Another is the growth of towns and cities at expense of the farms and the country homes. The reasons usually assigned for such removals are protection of wives and daughters, better school facilities for the children, improved church privileges and more social intercourse. The general results are of doubtful benefit. Country schools and churches are weakened, and the soil is not so well cultivated by the tenant, white or black, as it was when the soil-owner lived on his farm.

The growth of the mill village is another phase of this question. About one-fifth of the entire white population of the state is now found in these mill villages. Nearly all these villagers went from the farms of the state. These people live in good houses which are well furnished, dress well, live well, not to say extravagantly, work sixty hours a week, seem to enjoy life, and, as a rule, save very little of their earnings. There is always some moving to and fro, families going from one mill to another, or from the mill back to the farm, or vice versa. It is the pay envelope regularly, the "cash consideration" that carries the family, especially the family with large numbers of girl children, from the cotton farm to the cotton factory. Too often such moves take the head of the family off the list of workers and enroll him as a gentleman of leisure. One curious feature of this mill life is that the people soon form a sort of caste; they will not send their children to any school but the school in the mill village, and even when city churches of their own denomination are in easy reach, they insist upon a separate building —a mill church for mill people.

Social conditions are, as yet, but little affected by labor organizations. The railroad men, machinists, carpenters, telegraph operators, and others have their organizations, which are well managed and which produce little or no friction. So far as the writer is informed, there are no "unions" of farm or factory laborers. Farmers' unions are being organized throughout the state and now claim an aggregate membership of 35,000.

South Carolina's position is unique as to marriage and divorce laws. No marriage license and no record of marriage is required, and the constitution declares: "Divorces from the bonds of matrimony shall not be allowed in this state." It is a common saying in South Carolina that it is easy to get married and impossible to secure a divorce. The state constitution fixes the age of consent at fourteen, and gives married women the same rights of property and of business contract as men and unmarried women. The abolition of the saloon, or "bar-room" as here commonly called, and state control of the liquor business brought on a new social condition. The state dispensary, which on account of its being mixed up with bitter partisan politics never received a fair test, was, on account of what seems a well-founded suspicion of mismanagement, recently abolished, and the liquor business is now entirely under the control of each county, which may, by popular vote, choose for itself between prohibition and the county-dispensary sale of liquor. Nearly half the counties are "dry." Drunkenness and its attendant crimes have largely decreased, and prohibition is steadily gaining ground.

Very few of the people now living in the state were born beyond its limits. The social life of the state has been very little affected by immigration. Efforts to induce Europeans to make their homes in

South Carolina have been made under the auspices of a department of the state government, but with very little success. The probable need of more labor in the mills and on the soil, and the relief from the threatened dangers of a large negro majority by bringing in more white people, seem to make little impression on the deep-rooted and widespread opposition to European immigration.

The state has probably lost less in recent years by emigration than at any time in its history. In colonial days many Carolinians moved across the Savannah River and settled in Georgia. The extent of this emigration is not generally recognized. "From 1820 to 1860 South Carolina was a bee-hive from which swarms were continually going forth to populate the newer cotton-growing states of the Southwest." These Carolinians, like all Americans, generally moved directly westward, and they and their descendants are found to-day in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. In 1860 two-fifths of the people born in South Carolina, and in 1870 one-third, were living in other states, mainly in those just named.

New Industries.

In considering new industries within the period under review, phosphate mining and the manufacture of fertilizers are the first to claim our attention. The commercial value of the phosphate was established in 1868, and the mining began the year following. The annual yield steadily increased until 1883, when it reached a total of 355,333 tons, valued at $2,190,000. Since then this industry has declined, owing to the discovery of new mines in Tennessee and Florida and their operation at a lower cost of production.

Twenty-six years ago there were twenty-five fer-

tilizer factories, chiefly small ones, in the state. This business has grown immensely, and Charleston is the seat of this industry in America.

The cotton-seed industry is another that has developed within this generation. Men now living remember when cotton-seed were considered worthless except for planting purposes; when the farmers would as soon think of hauling home from the sawmill the sawdust from his logs as carrying away from the gin the seed of his cotton. Less than thirty years ago seed sold for ten and twelve cents a bushel, and were used almost entirely for manure. There was not an oil mill in the state. In 1882 there were three mills whose combined capacity was 20,000 tons of seed a year. Now there are 106 mills, using about 40 per cent. of the half million tons of cotton-seed annually grown in the state, and whose products of crude oil, meal and cakes, hulls and linters are worth $5,000,000. It is difficult even for a native to realize the remarkable development of the cotton-seed industry.

While these two may claim leading places as new industries, others are found in various sections of the state, some of them the only ones of their kind in the South, such as loom and harness works, knitting mills, bleacheries, shuttle and bobbin factory, sawmills, table damask factories, woolen blanket mill, tanneries, lime plants, telephone factory, carriage and wagon shops, clay ware plants, flour and grist mills, glass factory, canning and preserving establishments, veneer factory, boat ore factory and pickle factory. The small industries are just beginning to receive attention and developments at a rapid rate may be expected with confidence.

The "power" used in any community is a sure indication of its manufacturing interests and their growth. Within the last decade of the Nineteenth

century South Carolina's use of steam power showed the remarkable increase of 178 per cent., and an increase of 95 per cent. is the record of the first five years of the current century. The figures for electric power used are, in the year 1890, eight horse-power, ten years later 6,061 horse-power, five years afterwards 32,162 horse-power. Power companies are developing the shoals on all the streams of the hill country and transmitting electricity to all points that need it, and are in reach in some instances seventy miles away. The increasing use of water power is shown by the following figures at intervals of ten years, beginning in 1870: 10,000, 14,000, 16,000, 28,000, and (in five years) 31,000.

The cotton mill industry is not new in South Carolina. Its history there reads like a romance. As early as 1816 some New Englanders came to the foothills of the Blue Ridge and laid the foundations of the great factory interests of that section. To tell of their early efforts to make "cotton thread," and to speak of the retarding influences that delayed the growth of the enterprises for half a century and more, would carry us far afield and beyond the limits of this paper.

South Carolina leads the Southern states in cotton manufacturing, and is surpassed by but one state in the Union—Massachusetts. The *Cotton Mills of South Carolina,* by August Kohn, of Columbia, is a masterful work, and is most cordially commended to all readers who may be interested in the subject. In 1870 there were twelve cotton mills in South Carolina, with 35,000 spindles, consuming 5 per cent. of the crop of the state. Thirty-three years later the mills numbered 136 with 2,500,000 spindles, and consumed 600,000 bales of cotton—64 per cent. of the entire crop of the state.

The latest statistics available (1907) give these

items of the textile industry of the state: number of establishments, 179; of corporations, 159; capital invested, $104,000,000; number of spindles, 3,600,000; 90,000 looms; 750,000 bales of cotton consumed annually; value of annual product, $75,000,000; 55,000 employees.

Mill village population, 120,000; 8,000 children under sixteen employed in the mills, and 36,000 others residing in the villages.

The success of these mills has been marvelous. They are managed by home talent. The operatives are natives and are all white people. Negroes have been tried as mill "hands" and found dismal failures. They cannot be depended upon for regular, constant work is the verdict of successful mill managers who have made the experiment.

Agriculture has always been, is now, and will continue to be the leading industry of our people. The average size of farms is ninety acres, one-sixth what it was sixty years ago. The state's acreage in all crops is 4,750,000. The farmers expend $29 per acre for fertilizers, the average for the United States being $9. The number of farms operated in the state is a little over 155,000, of which 60,000 are operated by owners, 57,000 by cash tenants, and 38,000 by share tenants.

This system of working the land for a share of the crop grown on the land was inaugurated very soon after the surrender of the Southern armies. Lincoln, in his emancipation proclamation, had advised the negroes to work for their late owners for reasonable compensation. The garrison commanders, in their endeavors to readjust affairs, to prevent the negroes from leaving the plantations, used their influence to have labor contracts made, and nearly all such contracts were on the basis of a division of the crop, the laborer receiving one-third of

the crop for his services in its cultivation. There was some opposition to such an arrangement on the part of the landowners, and a few disdained to "go into partnership with a nigger" to have their paternal acres cultivated. The custom, however, became general and is largely followed to this day. Many of the most successful farmers declare that this plan of farming—the crop being planted, worked, gathered and marketed under the landlord's direction, and the laborer receiving a share of the crop, not "money wages," as compensation for his labor—is the method most beneficial and most satisfactory to both parties. The political economist will note that in the cotton fields of this state, this form of profit-sharing has been in successful operation for over forty years, and is steadily growing in popular favor.

Recently the Economic Association of Manchester, England, sent an agent through the South to examine into the condition of cotton-growing and the development of other crops. He was an unbiased observer, and this extract from his report may be considered a fair verdict:

"I find that the best farmers, the most systematic and by far the most thrifty and economical administration of the farm are unquestionably to be found in South Carolina. Here the cultivation of the soil is regarded as a life-time pursuit, and in the majority of instances I have found the farmer, whether landlord or tenant, a close student of the branches of science which enable him to know the wants of the soil, and the proper means of supplying these wants. The Clemson Agricultural College has been a real blessing to the farmers of South Carolina. Under its tutorage young men have discovered that the cultivation of the soil is the noblest and by far the most prolific occupation they can enjoy."

The secretary of agriculture of the United States, Mr. James Wilson, after traversing South Carolina from the Atlantic to the Blue Ridge, remarked: "No section of the world offers such inducements for diversified farming," and he predicted a future for the section such as has not been witnessed before in this country.

The state claims to lead the world in the following respects: as a grower of cabbages (there is a farm of 1,000 acres near Charleston, whose owner—in 1891 a poor man working for small wages—now spends $110,000 a year in the cultivation of his cabbage crop); as a shipper of cabbage plants (one party, on one of the islands near Charleston, ships a hundred carloads—100,000,000—of cabbage plants a year); as a pecan grower (one man owning three groves, one of 600 acres, and two smaller of 10,000 trees each, with an annual production of ten tons); in the quality of its sea-island cotton, and in the yield, per acre, of upland cotton, four bales; of corn, as demonstrated in world contests; of rice and of oats.

South Carolina in recent years has won the place of leader among the states of the Union in the yield per acre of corn, oats, rice and cotton; in the production of tea, possessing the only commercial tea-gardens in America, and claims leadership in the cheapness of the cost of living and in climatic conditions, which are equalled only by those of southern France.

The Palmetto state, of whose part in the Revolution Bancroft wrote: "Left mainly to her own resources, it was through the depths of wretchedness that her sons were to bring her back to her place in the republic after suffering more, daring more and achieving more than the men of any other state"; the state that led in secession, and whose sons, after four years of service on the battlefield, stood "without a regret for the past, without fear for the future, facing the world and fate"—this little state contends that after ten times four years of industrial development, taking up new industries and trying new methods in those that were old, she leads the Southern states in textile manufacturing; in pro-

duction of corn, oats, rice and cotton per acre; in value and yield of hay, per ton; in water power, developed and undeveloped; in cheapness of cost of living; in production of gold and tin; in production of kaolin; in climatic conditions; in variety of opportunities for the home-seeker; in rapidity of industrial development; in the manufacture of fertilizers; in harbor facilities, depth of water on bar and accessibility considered; in rapidity of development of trucking industry; in extent of cheese manufacturing; in size of bleachery; in the strength of her granite; in the manufacture of paper pulp, and in the welfare work in her cotton manufacturing districts.

And, best of all, her people are throwing their hearts into and mixing their brains with their work as never before, and feel they are just beginning to develop their wondrous resources.

New Political Conditions (Constitutions).

Under this topic three conventions claim consideration: first, that of 1865, called by B. F. Perry, provisional governor, by direction of President Johnson, and composed of delegates chosen by people "loyal to the United States," who had taken the oath of amnesty, "to restore the state to its constitutional relations to the Federal government"; second, that of 1868, called by General Canby, U. S. A., which met in Charleston, January 14, that year, "to frame a constitution and civil government"; and third, the convention of 1895, called by the General Assembly of the state.

The average citizen or reader of history cares little for details of constitution-making and constitutions. Those who are concerned usually prefer to study original documents and get their information at first hand. The constitution of 1865 seems not to

have received the attentive study of its make-up and proceedings that their importance demanded. In these we see the attitude of the leaders of the state toward the new conditions consequent upon the collapse of the Confederacy. The meaning may be made clear by a reference to the Tilden-Hayes controversy of 1877: "Benjamin H. Hill consulted with a number of ex-Confederates, all members of the House, with the result that forty-two of them solemnly pledged themselves to each other upon their sacred honor to oppose all attempts to frustrate the counting of the votes for President, 'as they did not propose to permit a second civil war if their votes could prevent it.'" The stand of these "Rebel-Brigadiers" and speaker Randall's firmness ensured a peaceable solution of the perplexing problems of that period. Had such natural leaders been allowed to lead their people in South Carolina and her sister states in the spring of 1865, there would have been no "horrors and suffering" of Reconstruction times, and the chapters that tell of those times, the darkest on the records of American history, would never have been written.

The writer of this sketch heartily recommends two books: *Reconstruction in South Carolina,* 1865-67, by John S. Reynolds, librarian of the state supreme court, and *Dixie After the War,* by Mrs. Myrta Lockett Avary, the brilliant Virginia author. The one book gives the results of careful research by a trained lawyer in a style acquired by long years of service in the highest state court; the other presents in graphic pen pictures a panorama true to life of Southern people and their surroundings.

The convention of 1865 met September 13, in Columbia, in the Plain Street Baptist Church, the same building in which the secession convention had held its first sessions, and went to work to frame a

constitution and to enact such ordinances as were necessary to put the state government in operation till the meeting of the legislature. The constitution contained provisions intended to meet new conditions induced not only by the failure of secession and the destruction of slavery, but by changes in the social and political relations of the different communities making up the new body politic. Slavery was prohibited forever and voting qualifications were fixed; the election of governor and lieutenant-governor was transferred from the legislature to the people, and the "Parish System," whereby six low country districts (*i. e.,* counties) had twenty-two out of forty-five state senators and fifty-five representatives out of a total of 124, was abolished by a vote of eleven to one.

This white-man-made constitution contained but one reference to the negro race, that directing the General Assembly to provide for a system of inferior courts, known as the District (*i. e.,* county) courts, to have jurisdiction of all civil cases in which one or both parties were negroes, and of all criminal cases where the accused were persons of color.

The convention appointed a commission of two of its ablest members to prepare and submit to the legislature a "code for the regulation of labor and the protection and government of the colored population of the state." Neither the Thirteenth, Fourteenth nor Fifteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, it will be remembered, had yet become a part of the fundamental law of the land.

The plan of Thad Stevens prevailed over that of Abraham Lincoln, and confusion became worse confounded.

Reference has already been made to the congress-directed, military-ordered and negro-chosen convention of 1868. The policy, temper and ideas of this

body may be judged by some of its proceedings as follows: A Charleston newspaper was violently denounced and its reporters were excluded from the hall, this on motion of D. H. Chamberlain. A negro member (Nash, of Richland county) offered a resolution to tax uncultivated lands higher than those under cultivation. Congress was requested to lend $1,000,000 to buy lands to be resold on long time to persons in South Carolina. An attempt was made to reform the vocabulary of South Carolina by expunging therefrom the words "negro," "nigger" and "Yankee," making the opprobrious use of any of those terms a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment. The district commander, General Canby, commonly called "the satrap" by the Carolinians of that time, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the convention, issued an order of a further stay, for three months, of all executions and all sales of property for any debt whatever.

By ordinance, contracts made for the purchase of slaves were declared void, and the courts were prohibited from issuing processes for their collection. General Canby was requested to issue an order to enforce this ordinance, but he forbore to act in the premises. On motion of D. H. Chamberlain, afterwards governor, and sometimes called "the best," "the brainiest," and the "most honest" of all the reconstruction governors, General Canby was requested to abolish the district courts, dismiss their judges and declare vacant all offices incident to such courts, but on this request General Canby took no action. Congress was requested to donate to the state, for distribution among the freedman, the land which had been sold for non-payment of the direct tax, the value of such lands being estimated at $700,000. A commission was appointed to frame and submit to the legislature a scheme of "financial

relief'' for the people of the state. The cost of the session of the convention, which adjourned March 18, after working fifty-three days, was about $110,000.

The new constitution, as the reader may readily suppose, contained many provisions radically different from those of the constitution of 1865. The paramount allegiance of the citizen was declared to be to the constitution and government of the United States, and all oaths of officials acknowledged that allegiance. Imprisonment for debt was abolished, and a homestead exemption of $1,000 in lands and $500 in personality was allowed to the head of every family. Representation was apportioned according to population only. The names of judicial subdivisions were changed from ''districts'' to counties. Presidential electors were required to be elected by the people. It was required that ''all the public schools, colleges and universities of this state, supported in whole or in part by the public funds, shall be free and open to all children of this state, without regard to race or color.'' Courts were permitted to grant divorces. This constitution, strange as it may appear, was allowed to remain the fundamental law of the state for nearly twenty years after the ''restoration of home rule''—after the whites resumed control of the government. There were some amendments, and some provisions were ignored, and others evaded.

The convention of 1895 was a representative body. The calling of this convention was one of the principal events following the success of that political and social revolution known as the ''Farmers' Movement of 1890,'' of which B. R. Tillman was the leader. This convention was primarily for the purpose of readjusting the franchise in such a manner as to eliminate the ignorant vote through legal

means, by requiring an educational and a property qualification, which had the desired effect.

Perhaps the most remarkable new political condition in South Carolina is the method of nominating all officers, state and federal, from coroner to United States senator, by a direct primary election known as the "Democratic primary," but designed to be a white-man's primary. In these primaries the white voters express their choice of measures and officials, and the general or regular elections are little more than formal approval of what has been decided upon weeks beforehand by a majority of the white men of the state, over twenty-one years of age, whether "registered" (that is, legal) voters or not.

Thus the state, once the most aristocratic in the Union, leaving the least power in the hands of the voter, has now become the most democratic, giving the most power to its citizens (white) to be used at the ballot box. The last three governors furnish a striking illustration of how this "primary election" works. The present governor is the son of a German immigrant; the last governor was a member of one of the old families prominent in affairs from colonial days, and his immediate predecessor was an Irish boy in the Orphan Home at Charleston, who learned the printers' trade, went from the printing office to the governor's mansion, and at the expiration of his term went back to the editor's desk and the printing press, saying, with pardonable pride, that had he not been a printer he would never have been governor.

Educational Advance.

Along no other line of progress has South Carolina advanced more rapidly in the past thirty-three years than along the line of her educational interests. Perhaps the most marked change in the opin-

ions and practices of her people is that concerning the education of the children in free public schools—"schools good enough for the richest and cheap enough for the poorest."

The story of the schools and of the training of the youth in colonial days, both proprietary and royal, in the time of her statehood before entering the Union (1776-1789), while she was one of the sisterhood of states (1790-1860), and during her brief existence as a state of the Confederacy (1861-1865) is one of thrilling interest and rich in lessons of suggestions.

The limits of this paper and the dates assigned both forbid our taking up that story. The antebellum system of schools, if system it may be called, supported by the state, bore but little fruit, despite frequent recommendations by governors, reports of commissions and legislative appropriations of public funds. Some reasons for this little fruit may have been that the white population living on plantations and farms was widely scattered; that the better class would not patronize the schools, which were regarded as pauper institutions, close akin to the almshouse or district (county) poor house; and that many private schools sprung up on every hand and the people did not feel the need of the free schools.

In 1868 a new constitution was adopted. Old forms of government, the courts and long cherished institutions were changed. A new system of state instruction for rich and poor alike supplanted the old system of private institutions for tuition-paying pupils. Here was the real beginning of the public school system, which to-day occupies a most prominent place in the mind of the people and in legislation. Provisions were made for three sources of revenue: first, an annual appropriation by the legislature; second, poll-tax, and third, a voluntary local

tax. The system was good enough in theory, but in practice proved a failure, owing to the ignorance and dishonesty of many of the officials charged with its management. The first state superintendent of education was elected in 1868. He was J. K. Jillson, a carpet-bagger, who served eight years and who repeatedly made public and official complaints of the diversion of school funds to other purposes, and in his last report for 1876 called attention to an aggregate deficiency of almost $300,000. It is but simple justice to the memory of this official, and to the truth of history, to say that no suggestion of suspicion was ever breathed against his personal or official integrity, and that a thorough investigation of the records of his office by his successors showed no indication of any mismanagement.

The Republican legislature of 1874-76 proposed an amendment to the constitution fixing an annual free public school tax of two mills on the dollar's worth of property as assessed for taxation. This amendment, earnestly advocated by Governor Hampton in his public addresses during the memorable campaign of 1876, was approved by the people by a vote of twenty-five to one in the election that year. Yet when, a few weeks later, the proposed amendment came for ratification before the legislature chosen at the same election, all Governor Hampton's great personal and official influence was necessary to prevent its rejection, so strong even then was the prejudice against free schools—a prejudice brought over from ante-bellum times, and at that time intensified by the fact that these schools were of Reconstruction origin and came from a régime then and now "a stench in the nostrils of decent people."

It may be worthy of note here that when the constitutional convention of 1895 took up the school

question this fixed tax was increased 50 per cent., from two mills to three, with little or no opposition.

A few figures will show the growth of the public schools:

	1869–70	1906–07
School population	168,819—	511,896
Enrollment	28,409—	314,399
Average attendance	23,441—	222,189
Teachers	528—	6,228
Number of days	80—	96
Number of schools	630—	4,995
Salaries paid teachers	$57,321—	$1,415,725
Total expenditures	$77,949—	$1,853,572

In the eighties and nineties educational thought and action turned towards "graded schools," as they were and still are called. The name is somewhat misleading. The underlying idea was not the grading of the pupils, but more money for and longer terms of the schools. Many cities, towns, and even villages in thickly settled communities voted a local supplementary school tax upon themselves, only property-holders voting, in most cases being compelled to secure from the legislature, by special act, permission to hold such elections. In many instances the opposition was active, and occasionally the graded school proposition was defeated. But these schools steadily grew in favor; new and modern school buildings were erected, and to-day the town without its well-equipped school, or system of schools, is the exception.

The student of civics is interested in tracing the resemblance of these school meetings to the township meetings of New England. For the improvement of the teachers, "Teachers' Meetings" in the cities, and normal institutes (of late years known as summer schools) in the county, district (several counties combined), and state were organized. The Winthrop Normal and Industrial College at Rock Hill provides instruction in the science of teaching

for young ladies, while young men secure such instruction at the State University in Columbia.

Within the last two years the state department of education has worked out a plan for high schools which, endorsed by the state teachers' association, has been favorably considered by the General Assembly. The State University has added to its courses a department of secondary instruction, and its professor in charge of this department is actively engaged in traveling over the state, urging and assisting in the establishment of high schools.

Domestic science is being introduced into the schools, even in some of the most conservative. A new feature—farm demonstration work—under the auspices of the United States Department of Agriculture, is now being added to well-known schools, one at the old home of General Sumter, another at the old home of ex-Governor Hammond.

The colleges of South Carolina are commonly classified as denominational and state institutions. The leading denominations, within a period of twenty years immediately preceding the great struggle of the sixties, had organized colleges under their respective control. All these—Erskine (Associate Reformed Presbyterian, 1839) at Due West; Furman University (Baptist, 1850) at Greenville; Wofford (Methodist, 1851) at Spartansburg, and Newberry (Lutheran, 1858) at Newberry—have continued in successful operation during the period of this study, broadening their curricula, erecting new buildings, enlarging their faculties, increasing their attendance of students, and annually enriching the spiritual, moral, intellectual, professional, industrial, commercial and domestic life of the commonwealth. No denominational college has died in South Carolina. In no state of our Union have church colleges exerted a greater influence.

Nor have the churches been unmindful of the claims of their daughters. The Due West Female College, The Greenville Female College, Chicora College, Converse College, Lauder College (formerly Williamston), Columbia College, Presbyterian College for Women, The Limestone College and Leesville College (coeducational) are all doing good work and growing in public favor. The older state institutions, The South Carolina College (now University) at Columbia, founded in 1801, and the South Carolina Military Academy (popularly known as the Citadel) at Charleston, founded in 1842, are still in successful operation.

Clemson College, at the old farm home of John C. Calhoun (agricultural, mechanical and textile), and Winthrop at Rock Hill (normal and industrial), furnish opportunities for that industrial training of the young men and young women which is demanded by this industrial age. These twin institutions, monuments, more enduring than brass, of the work of Benjamin Ryan Tillman, though enlarged more than once, are unable to accommodate the hundreds of boys and girls, mainly children of the industrial classes, who clamor for admission. Their doors were thrown open for students fifteen years ago, Clemson in 1893, Winthrop in 1884.

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William Shannon Morrison,

Professor of History and Political Economy, Clemson College.

THE HISTORY OF GEORGIA.

Chapter I.

THE COLONY OF GEORGIA, 1732-1776.

Georgia a Part of Carolina.

THE land which, in 1732, was granted to the "Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America" was originally granted to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina; but as no act of settlement beyond the right shore of the Savannah River was exercised by the proprietors, Sir Robert Montgomery obtained from them, in 1717, the right to the use of the territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers for a settlement to be called the Margravate of Azilia. It was expected that the Montgomery colony would at once take steps to improve the land so secured, and that the prosperity of the new undertaking would be assured. Such was the prediction of those who were directly interested in the project, but their efforts were not properly guided, and it remained for a man of greater ability and of more decided energy to carry to a successful issue the scheme proposed by Sir Robert Montgomery. James Oglethorpe was the man who was to be the leader in this great work, and the circumstances which led to his taking charge of it may be said to be providential.

Georgia a Distinct Proprietary—Oglethorpe's Settlement.

The story of the investigation by a committee of Parliament, headed by General Oglethorpe, of the methods pursued in the matter of the imprisonment of unfortunate Englishmen, has been so often told that it need not be here fully rehearsed. The result of the investigation brought about the needed reform in the prison system, but the most far-reaching and fruitful result was the founding of the Colony of Georgia. Oglethorpe, who had been the chief instrument in bringing about the great change, was chosen as the leader of the band to prepare the way for departure to the new country which they were to develop and change into a great state among a sisterhood of states forming the grand Union which is one of the world's powers. For an accurate and true account of the reasons for establishing the colony, succinctly stated, no better can be found than that given by Gov. Robert Johnson, of South Carolina, in the preamble to a proclamation issued by him Jan. 13, 1733, calling on his people to assist their new neighbors in Georgia. In it occurs this statement: "I have lately received a power from the Trustees for establishing a colony in that part of Carolina between the rivers Altamaha and Savannah, now granted by his Majesty's charter to the said Trustees, by the name of the Province of Georgia, authorizing me to take and receive all such voluntary contributions as any of his Majesty's good subjects of this province shall voluntarily contribute towards so good and charitable a work as the relieving of poor and insolvent debtors, and settling, establishing and assisting poor Protestants of what nation soever as shall be willing to settle in the said Colony." It may be well for our readers to have before them also the words of the charter granted by George II., giving the reasons as follows: "Many

of our poor subjects are, through misfortune and want of employment, reduced to great necessity, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to provide a maintenance for themselves and their families; and, if they had means to defray their charges of passage and the expenses incident to new settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of our provinces in America, where, by cultivating the lands at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen our colonies and increase trade, navigation and wealth of these, our realms."

James Oglethorpe, the philanthropist and Christian gentleman, was also by choice a soldier, leaving college to take up arms in defense of a cause which he considered right. His character was right in every respect, and in undertaking the establishment of a colony under such circumstances he was literally carrying out the noble sentiment expressed in the motto adopted for the seal of the Province: *Non sibi, sed alliis.* Whether he foresaw the success of his scheme, or not, cannot be determined, but certainly true was the statement made by a newspaper not long before his death: "General Oglethorpe can say more than can be said by the subject of any prince in Europe, or perhaps that ever reigned; he founded the Province of Georgia in America, he has lived to see it flourish and become of consequence to the commerce of Great Britain; he has seen it in a state of rebellion, and he now beholds it independent of the mother country, and of great political importance in one quarter of the globe."

The first company of the colonists, comprising 130 individuals, or thirty-five families, came over in the latter part of the year 1732, in the ship *Anne,* which set sail on November 17. Oglethorpe was one of the party. They reached Charleston, S. C., Jan. 13,

GEN. JAMES OGLETHORPE.

1733, and were there cordially welcomed by Governor Johnson, who assisted them in getting to the place where the first settlement was to be made—Savannah. Leaving the others at Beaufort, on the way, the General, guided by some of his Carolina friends, proceeded on his way in order to select a spot for the permanent location of his followers. He found what he sought, and a better selection than the site of the present prosperous and flourishing city of Savannah could not have been made. Indeed, no one would now wish for a change. On the spot he found a village inhabited by Indians, of whom Tomochichi was the chief, and who soon discerned the true character of Oglethorpe. The two men at once became friends and the Indians and Englishmen remained friendly as long as the General lived in Georgia. A treaty was afterwards made which was strictly observed, and the Colony of Georgia had scarcely any troubles with the aborigines. The plan of the city of Savannah has been greatly admired, and it would seem that it had been carefully prepared before the colonists ever set foot upon the soil. Oglethorpe, having chosen the spot, went back for his followers, reaching Yamacraw Bluff Feb. 1 (old style), 1733 (Feb. 12, new style), and, after landing, they united in a prayer of thanksgiving and praise to God, lodging that night in tents. The work of building houses for the people began the next day, and the settlement was called Savannah. In the work of making homes for themselves the colonists were greatly assisted by their neighbors of Carolina, who even then exhibited that social spirit for which they have ever since been noted.

Other Settlements.

Before the end of the first year of the colony's history the population was increased by the arrival

of a vessel with forty Israelites who, while not under the care of the Trustees or coming with their consent, proved to be thrifty and industrious people and were allowed to remain. Following these came a band of religious exiles, called Salzburgers, who were warmly welcomed and who made their settlement at a place they named Ebenezer, up the Savannah River, about twenty-five miles from Oglethorpe's town.

In a little more than a year the following places, in addition to Savannah, were settled: Highgate, Hampstead, Abercorn and Fort Argyle. In the meantime other ships, with emigrants, arrived at Savannah, one of them, commanded by Captain Yoakley, bringing supplies of tools, clothing and provisions, winning the prize of a gold cup offered by the Trustees to the first vessel to enter the river and unload a cargo at the public dock. She was followed by one bringing the large addition of 150 souls to the population of the colony.

At the time the charter was obtained it was thought that the production of silk would be the chief industry of the people, and it was stipulated that each settler should plant a certain number of mulberry trees. Indeed, so important was this matter considered that the seal of the colony was of a design planned in conformity with that purpose. It represented on one side a group of silk-worms at work surrounded by the motto *Non sibi, sed alliis.* This industry, however, was not a success, and the principal exports were skins, rice, tar and pitch.

Having led the colonists to their new home, set them to work and put them in the way of supporting themselves, Oglethorpe, after spending fifteen months with them, returned to England, taking with him that faithful friend Tomochichi, his wife and his nephew and a number of chiefs, who were pre-

sented to the King and were pleasantly entertained by those who appreciated their kindness to the colonists. These Indians remained in England four months, but Oglethorpe did not return to Georgia until 1735. A colony of Swiss and Moravian emigrants, sent out by him in January, 1735, settled near Fort Argyle, and a party of Scotch Highlanders who desired to come over left their native land in January, 1736, and founded the town of New Inverness on the Altamaha River.

When Oglethorpe made his second visit to Georgia, in 1736, he brought two ships loaded with supplies needed by the people, and he was accompanied by 225 emigrants who formed an important addition to the population. Among them were 125 Germans and twenty-five Moravians. The latter joined the settlement on the Ogeechee River called Fort Argyle. He also brought with him the noted brothers John and Charles Wesley, who did not remain a great while in this country, but their experiences while here were both interesting and exciting.

In February, 1736, a settlement was made near the mouth of the Altamaha River, on the island called St. Simon's, and the name Frederica was given to it. This place was really the home of Oglethorpe from that time until his final return to England. Before this, in 1735, in accordance with his directions, a military post was fixed at a point high up on the Savannah River and called Augusta. This was the starting-point of the prosperous city of Augusta.

Trouble with Spaniards.

During all this time the Spaniards, who claimed the land granted by Parliament to the Trustees of Georgia, were apparently inactive and seemed to be satisfied with the condition of affairs, but with the

growth of the colony they became troublesome and seemed determined to put a stop to her progress. The Spanish government warned England that the building of fortifications and the quartering of troops in Georgia would not be submitted to by them. When the message was received the Duke of Argyle, a member of the King's Council, asserted: "This should be answered, but not in the usual way; the reply should be a fleet of battleships on the coast of Spain." So much trouble was stirred up by the Spaniards that war was declared by England in October, 1739.

At all times Oglethorpe kept in mind the importance of securing and retaining the goodwill and friendship of the Indians. The wisdom of this policy was manifested in the long period of hostility between the colonists and the Spaniards in Florida. With this purpose in view, the General decided to attend an impressive and large gathering of warriors at Coweta Town, leaving Savannah in July, 1739, and traveling 300 miles. At that meeting the Indians became firmly convinced of his sincerity, and learned to appreciate his friendly intentions, and willingly entered into treaties of peace and goodwill with him.

Hostilities between the Georgians and Spaniards began with the landing of a party of the latter on Amelia Island on Georgia soil and the killing of two unarmed men. With a considerable force Oglethorpe pursued the enemy until they sought refuge in the city of St. Augustine. He then collected a force of friendly Indians to co-operate with his troops, and captured two forts on the St. John's River, cutting off the Spaniards from their Indian allies. He then planned an attack on St. Augustine, and, with that end in view, left Frederica in May, 1740, with a force of 900 of his own men and 1,100

Indians. His first capture was Fort St. Diego, nine miles from the point of siege, and next he caused the Spaniards to abandon Fort Moosa, only two miles from St. Augustine. The attack was made both by land and sea, but it was found that the ships could not get near enough to the town to assist the land forces. The siege lasted until July, and several incidents of a disadvantageous character occurred, and the disappointed Oglethorpe abandoned the attack and returned to Frederica. His loss was only fifty men, while that of the enemy was 450, besides four forts.

The next move in the war was made by the Spaniards, who were slow to act. They collected at St. Augustine a fleet of fifty-six vessels with 7,000 troops from Havana, and when Oglethorpe received information of their preparation to attack him he gathered together all his available force, with all the arms and ammunition in the province, and called to his aid his regiment of Highlanders and his Indian allies. During the month of June two minor attacks by the Spaniards on Amelia Island were repulsed. On the 28th thirty-six of their ships, with troops numbering 5,000, approached St. Simon's Island, but made no offensive demonstration until the 5th of the next month, when they raised the red flag and landed their forces on the south end, where they stationed a battery of eighteen guns. Oglethorpe evacuated Fort St. Simon, spiked the guns, destroyed the powder and retired to Frederica, where he strengthened his position for the coming attack, his little band amounting to no more than 650 men. Learning from a scout on the 7th that a division of the Spanish invaders was only two miles from Frederica, Oglethorpe surprised them in the thick woods and killed and captured nearly all of them. He went forward a few miles, and in ambush awaited the approach of the main body of the enemy,

whose coming was not long delayed. Not suspecting danger, the Spaniards halted near the ambush, stacked their arms and failed to set a proper watch. The first intimation of danger was given by a horse which became frightened at the sight of a soldier in the bushes. The command to attack was given by Oglethorpe, and the enemy, taken by surprise, was completely routed with the loss of 259 men. The site of this encounter received the name of Bloody Marsh, the name it still bears. Oglethorpe next planned a night attack upon the Spaniards, thinking to surprise them, but a Frenchman who, unknown to the General, had joined himself to the volunteers, fired his gun and rushed into the enemy's camp. He was pursued by the Indians, who could not overtake him. This caused Oglethorpe to retreat. Knowing that the deserter would divulge the weakness of his force, he conceived a plan to bring his treason to naught.

This is his account of the affair: "The next day I prevailed with a prisoner and gave him a sum of money to carry a letter privately and deliver it to that Frenchman who had deserted. This letter was written in French as if from a friend of his, telling him he had received the money that he should strive to make the Spaniards believe the English were weak. That he should undertake to pilot up their boats and galleys and then bring them under the woods where he knew the hidden batteries were, that if he could bring that about he should have double the reward he had already received. That the French deserters should have all that had been promised to them. The Spanish prisoner got into their camp and was immediately carried before their General, Don Manuel de Montiano. He was asked how he escaped and whether he had any letters, but denying his having any was strictly

searched and the letter found; and he, upon being pardoned, confessed that he had received money to deliver it to the Frenchman, for the letter was not directed. The Frenchman denied his knowing anything of the contents of the letter or having received any money or correspondence with me, notwithstanding which a Council of War was held and they deemed the Frenchman to be a double spy, but General Montiano would not suffer him to be executed, having been employed by him; however, they embarked all their troops and halted under Jekyl; they also confined all the French on board and embarked with such precipitation that they left behind them cannon, etc., and those dead of their wounds unburied."

John Wesley.

During the short stay of John Wesley in Georgia, his mind was filled with the importance of the work of religious instruction of the Indians and the settlers, and he decided that George Whitefield was just the man for that work. Accordingly, he wrote so strong an appeal to him that Whitefield came over in the next ship. A portion of the letter reads thus: "What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield? Do you ask me what you shall have? Food to eat and raiment to put on; a house to lay your head in such as your Lord had not, and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." Whitefield's chief work in Georgia was the founding of the orphan asylum, which he named Bethesda, or house of mercy. It opened with forty inmates, and the number ran up to 150. This noble charity still exists, and its good work cannot be overestimated.

Internal Affairs.

A change in the government of the colony was made two years before Oglethorpe's departure, by

its division into two counties, each governed by a president and four assistants. These counties were Savannah and Frederica, the former including the territory extending southward to Darien, and the latter including Darien and all the territory to the southern limit of the colony. William Stephens was made president of the county of Savannah, but no appointment was made for Frederica, as Oglethorpe's home was on St. Simon's Island and his authority as governor extended over the whole colony. In 1743, on Oglethorpe's return to England, the plan was modified, and the Trustees made Mr. Stephens president of Georgia. He governed the colony six years, but his administration was not marked by any special act of progress, and the degree of prosperity was inappreciable. Moreover, the colonists became dissatisfied on account of certain regulations of the Trustees which did not exist in the other colonies. Among these were the prohibition of the use of negro slaves and the sale of rum. In June, 1735, and in December, 1738, petitions were sent to the Trustees asking that the use of negro slaves be permitted. Such men as the Rev. George Whitefield and the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, pastor of the Salzburgers, urged the repeal of the restriction in regard to slavery. Finally, yielding to the pressure, the Trustees repealed the regulation against the sale of distilled liquor and allowed the use of slaves under certain conditions.

Another cause of dissatisfaction among the colonists was the restriction which prevented a settler from either mortgaging or selling his lands. This restriction was not removed until May 25, 1750.

Trouble arose in 1749 through fear that the Indians might become hostile. This state of affairs was brought on by a woman. This woman was an Indian, and could speak English. When the col-

onists landed at Savannah Oglethorpe used her as an interpreter. Her first husband was named Musgrove, and the second Matthews. She afterwards married the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, a priest of the Church of England, who induced her to make a demand on the colony for £5,000 as compensation for her services and for damages to the property of her first husband. She claimed to be an Indian princess and empress of the Creek Indians. She laid claim to the islands of Ossabaw, Sapelo and St. Catherine's, as well as certain lands just across the river from Savannah, but President Stephens opposed all of her claims and would not agree to anything that she urged. She excited the Indians and marched a large number of them to Savannah, escorted by her husband in his priest's garb, the Indian chiefs and warriors appearing in their feathers and war paint. Notwithstanding the fears of his people, Mr. Stephens assembled the soldiers and declared that the Indians must give up their arms before entering the town. This they did, and the Bosomworths were arrested and locked up. The president addressed the Indians and convinced them that the woman was no princess and that the land claimed by her belonged to the Creek Nation. This brought about peace and quiet. The Bosomworths went to England and tried to persuade the King and the Trustees to comply with their demands, and invoked the aid of the courts. They gave trouble many years and were finally given about £2,000 and a title to St. Catherine's Island, where both of them died and where they are buried.

A change for the better occurred in the year 1750, as at that time the Honorable James Habersham described the condition of the province in these words: "My present thoughts are that the colony never had a better appearance of thriving than now.

There have been more vessels loaded here within these ten months than have been since the colony was settled." At that time the population had grown to 1,500. In that year the Trustees resolved that a Provincial Assembly should be established which should be composed of delegates elected by the people, who would then look after the interests of the inhabitants and to suggest to the Trustees those measures which might be considered to be for the good of the colony. It was to meet once a year in Savannah, and each session was not to continue beyond one month. The first session was held Jan. 15, 1751, and was composed of sixteen delegates elected the year before. It lasted twenty-two days, and Francis Harris was elected speaker. That year William Stephens, who had become infirm and aged, resigned the office of president, and on April 8 the Trustees appointed Henry Parker as his successor. James Habersham was made secretary of the colony. The assembly recommended the organization of the militia, and President Parker proceeded to carry out their wishes. The first muster was held in June, 1751, in Savannah, when 220 men appeared under the command of Capt. Noble Jones.

The next year, 1752, a body of people, Congregationalists in religion, under a grant of land situated on the Midway River, moved into Georgia from Dorchester, S. C., and made a valuable addition to the population. From this body have descended some of Georgia's most illustrious citizens.

Georgia a Royal Province.

The end of the period of twenty-one years named in the charter granted to the Trustees was now approaching, and that corporation did not desire a renewal. They accordingly expressed to the Lords of the Council their wish to surrender the trust.

Their wish was granted, and the last meeting of the Trustees was held June 23, 1752, and the colony of Georgia was placed in charge of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. At that time only six of the original body were living.

By command of the King the regulations of the Trustees were kept in force and all officers in charge were retained until a new form of government should be adopted. No change was made for more than two years, and Mr. Parker died in office as president. Patrick Graham, of Augusta, was chosen as his successor. The King approved the recommendation of the Lords of the Council that Georgia should be made a royal province, and appointed Capt. John Reynolds of the Royal Navy as the first governor. In place of the old seal which had been defaced when the charter was surrendered, a great seal for the province was designed. The obverse shows a female figure representing the province, kneeling before the King in token of submission, and presenting him with a skein of silk under which is the motto, *"Hinc laudem sperate Coloni."* The motto engraved around the edge is *"Sigillum Provinciae Nostræ Georgiæ in America."* The reverse bears the coat-of-arms of the King.

The official title of the governor was "Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of his Majesty's Province of Georgia, and Vice-Admiral of the same." He landed on Georgia soil Oct. 29, 1754, and received a most hearty welcome from the people. The legislature was composed of the upper house of Assembly in which sat twelve members, appointed by the King, and they were also the Governor's council, and the commons house of Assembly, representatives elected by the people from the several districts of the province. No bill could become a

law until it passed both houses and was signed by the governor.

Under the new régime the first legislature met Jan. 7, 1755, when only twelve acts were passed and became laws.

The province of Georgia was not in the prosperous condition that Governor Reynolds was led to believe existed at the time of his appointment, and he did not do anything during his administration to make it a success. He laid off the town of Hardwicke on the Ogeechee River, which never developed into importance. He did give up much of his time to the improvement of the defenses of the province. He endeavored to make a treaty with the Indians at Augusta, but failed to awaken any interest on their part, and was called back to Savannah by the arrival of two vessels with 400 Acadians on board. Under the Georgia laws no Catholics were permitted to land, and Governor Reynolds did not know how to act in this case. They were allowed to remain and were protected during that winter, but nearly all of them went away as soon as they were able to do so. The governor did not remain on good terms with his council or the legislature. Complaint was made to the Lords Commissioners of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and on Aug. 3, 1756, they summoned him to appear before them. They appointed Henry Ellis lieutenant-governor of the province, to take charge during the absence of Reynolds, and he landed at Savannah on Feb. 16, 1757. Reynolds departed the same day.

In taking control Lieutenant-Governor Ellis perceived that he had undertaken a most important work, and that many necessary changes in the methods then employed would require his special attention. He immediately set to work to place the province in a good condition to guard it against invasion.

It was his wish that the seat of government should be changed, and that Hardwicke should be the capital. He entered into an agreement of peace and friendship with the Creeks, which was a matter of great importance because of the war then in progress between England and France.

The legislature met in June, four months after his arrival, at which time he delivered his inaugural address in which he said: "I can, with unfeigned sincerity, declare that I enter upon this station with the most disinterested views, without prejudice to any man or body of men, or retrospect to past transactions or disputes, but animated with warmest zeal for whatever concerns your happiness or the public utility, sincerely inclined to concur with you in every just and necessary measure, and fully resolved that if, unfortunately, my wishes and endeavors prove fruitless, to be the first to solicit my recall."

The next year, 1758, was marked by the first move towards the founding of a town which, for a time, was almost as important in the matter of trade as was Savannah, and which seemed destined to surpass her in the amount of business carried on there. It was on June 20 that a grant of 300 acres of land was made to five trustees for the purpose of laying out a town to be called Sunbury. It was situated in the district known as Midway, in which the settlers from Dorchester, S. C., had located. Its prosperity was not long-lived.

It was in this year that the province was divided into parishes. There were eight of them: Christ Church, which included Savannah; St. Matthew's, in which was Ebenezer; St. Paul's, of which Augusta was the chief town; St. George's, with Halifax as the most important place; St. Philip's, which was the great Ogeechee district; St. John's, peopled by the Dorchester settlers; St. Andrew's, with Darien

as its principal point of interest; and the Frederica district, which was the parish of St. James. Four new parishes were created in 1765, known as St. Patrick's, St. David's, St. Thomas's and St. Mary's.

The administration of Governor Reynolds officially ended by his removal from office in 1758, when Henry Ellis became actual governor and administered the affairs of Georgia until 1760, when he was relieved by the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor James Wright, who was appointed to that office on the application of Governor Ellis in 1759 for leave of absence. The growth of the province under Governor Ellis, in commerce as well as in population, was remarkable. The trust committed to him was executed with much care, and he showed his ability for governing to a marked degree. His dealings with the Creek Indians made them the friends of Georgia, and in consequence the troubles which arose in other provinces in America between the whites and the Indians were averted.

Governor Wright—Steps to Independence.

Governor Wright, as already stated, reached Georgia on Oct. 11, 1760, and, though his office then was lieutenant-governor, he was really the governor until his official appointment as such with the title of "Captain-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Georgia," by virtue of a commission bearing date March 20, 1761. The commission, however, was not received by him until nearly ten months after its date. Like his predecessor, his first object of care was that of looking after the defenses of the province, and he sent a message to the Assembly, calling the attention of that body to the necessity for prompt action in that matter. He decided that it would be unwise to remove the seat of government from Savannah to

Hardwicke, a step which both Reynolds and Ellis had advocated.

George II., who had granted the charter and after whom the colony was named, died in October, 1760, just about the time that Wright arrived at Savannah, but the news was not received in the province until February, 1761, causing the adjournment of the Assembly and the holding of services in memory of the dead King.

By the provisions of the Treaty of Paris the territory of Florida was ceded to England, and George III. changed the boundary between that territory and Georgia by which all the land between Florida's northern line and the Altamaha River was added to Governor Wright's jurisdiction, and a new commission was issued to him in which the limits of the province were fixed. One of the matters treated of in the proclamation of George III., concerning the territory acquired by the Treaty of Paris, related to the Indian tribes to whom he allotted the lands lying between the Mississippi and the head waters of the streams flowing into the Atlantic. From these lands the white people were for the time being excluded. He desired that friendly relations should exist between the Indians and the whites, and issued orders to the governors of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia to hold a conference with the Indian chiefs. The conference, so ordered, was held at Augusta, and was attended by 700 Indians. It lasted five days and Governor Wright was the presiding officer. It resulted in a very satisfactory treaty, which was signed by all of the parties interested. The convention opened on Nov. 5, 1763.

Until the adoption of the Stamp Act, Governor Wright's conduct appears to have been satisfactory to the people; but after that time his life in Georgia was, if we may take his own letters as evidence, very

miserable. When the Massachusetts proposition of a congress was received, Alexander Wylly, the speaker of the commons house of Assembly, summoned that body to a meeting, and about two-thirds of the members, sixteen in number, attended. The meeting was held Sept. 2, 1765, and the delegates pledged "their hearty coöperation in every measure for the support of their common rights." Governor Wright, however, succeeded in preventing the appointment of representatives of the province in the proposed congress. In October he ordered the troops to attend a muster in honor of the King, whose ascension to the throne happened five years before, on the 26th day of that month; but although a large number assembled, they took no part in the programme prepared and marched through the streets, denouncing the Stamp Act and even uttering threats against Governor Wright. William Knox, the Assembly's agent in England, defended the act, and the Assembly, on Nov. 15, 1765, "resolved to give instructions to the committee of correspondence to acquaint William Knox, agent for this province, that the province has no further occasion for his services."

December 5 of the same year, a little more than a month after the Stamp Act was to take effect, His Majesty's ship *Speedwell* arrived at Savannah with the first stamps, but from the first of November until their arrival the governor had stopped the issue of all grants and warrants and gave passes to vessels in which it was certified that neither the stamped paper nor the distributing officer had arrived. The officer, Mr. Angus, arrived Jan. 3, 1766, and landed secretly, as the governor had received information that 200 Liberty Boys had organized and threatened to break into the fort and destroy the papers. Governor Wright had previously

caused the stamps to be placed in Fort Halifax in care of the commissary. Excitement ran high. Mr. Angus was forced to seek refuge in the house of the governor, with a guard set around it, where he remained a fortnight and then left the city. Threatening letters were sent to Governor Wright, and James Habersham, president of the council, was waylaid and forced to take refuge under the roof of the governor, as the stamp distributor had done. Finally the stamps were, on February 3, deposited on board the man-of-war which had brought them over. The only use to which any of them had been put was to clear out between sixty and seventy vessels collected in the port of Savannah and which could not sail without them.

With the repeal of the Stamp Act quiet settled upon Georgia, but, as the governor well said, it was "but a temporary calm."

On Jan. 20, 1767, the governor, under the terms of the "Mutiny Act," called upon the Assembly for the supplies for the King's soldiers on duty in the province. In reply, on February 18, they sent him word that "they humbly conceived their complying with the requisition would be a violation of the trust reposed in them by their constituents, and founding a precedent they by no means think themselves justifiable in introducing." The governor found it prudent to let the matter rest there, and could only send the proceedings of the Assembly to the King's ministers.

When Mr. Knox was deposed from his office of agent the governor desired the appointment of Mr. Cumberland, but the Assembly disregarded his wish and appointed Mr. Samuel Garth, who represented South Carolina in the same way. This did not satisfy the governor and council, and no agent was employed from that time until 1768, when Benjamin

Franklin became agent and served until the War of the Revolution.

The Stamp Act having failed, another measure was adopted by Parliament which was calculated to call forth a strong protest from the colony. This was a bill to tax certain articles of commerce, and against a compliance with it the Massachusetts House of Representatives urged the other provinces to take united action. Another letter came from Virginia, and, when the Georgia Assembly met and had transacted its regular business, the house ordered these letters recorded in the journal and indorsed the action of the other provinces. This called forth a message of protest from Governor Wright ordering that the Assembly be dissolved. Dr. Noble Wymberly Jones was the speaker of the Assembly. He has been styled "one of the morning stars of liberty in Georgia," and Governor Wright therefore did not hold him in high esteem. The council was composed of men in favor with the British government, but the commons house of Assembly held an opposing view of affairs. When, therefore, Dr. Jones was again elected speaker of the house, the governor refused to recognize him and ordered that body to elect another speaker. The house refused to do so and the Assembly was again dissolved.

In July, 1771, Governor Wright, having obtained a leave of absence, went to England, and James Habersham was named by the King to act in his place, with the title of president. The last Assembly had, by resolution, declared that the governor had no right to reject a speaker chosen by them, and the King had virtually ordered Mr. Habersham to refuse to recognize as speaker any one who should be the first choice of that body. Therefore, when it met on April 21, 1772, and elected Dr. Jones, Mr. Habersham ordered another election. Again they

elected Dr. Jones, whom the president rejected. When, for the third time, he was elected Dr. Jones declined to serve, and Archibald Bulloch was chosen. Him the president accepted. These proceedings were entered on the journal, and Mr. Habersham ordered that they be expunged, but the Assembly refused to obey, and he dissolved it.

After an absence of nineteen months Governor Wright returned in February, 1773, and his first act was to acquire from the Indians a tract of land containing 2,100,000 acres, in payment of a debt due by the Indians to the traders.

When the Boston Port Bill was passed a meeting of the patriots in Georgia was held at Savannah to express their sympathy for the people of that city. The meeting was held on July 27, 1774, but was not largely attended, and, in order that the whole colony might be represented and take part in the matter, it was adjourned to August 10. Among other things, the resolutions declared that the action of the British Parliament in passing that bill and other measures acted "contrary to natural justice and the spirit of the English Constitution." A subscription was taken for the Bostonians, and 600 casks of rice were sent to them. Jonathan Bryan, the only patriot member of the Council, was present at the meeting, and when Governor Wright convened them a motion was made to expel Mr. Bryan, but that gentleman said, "I will save you that trouble," and handed in his resignation.

A Provisional Congress was held in Savannah in January, 1775, one of the objects of which was to elect delegates to the Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia in May, and Noble Wymberly Jones, Archibald Bulloch and John Houstoun were elected, but they did not attend, as only a small number of the parishes were represented in the body

which elected them, and it was thought that their right to represent the province might be questioned. They sent a letter to the Continental Congress, and this is an extract from it: "There are still men in Georgia who, when an occasion shall require, will be ready to evince a steady, religious and manly attachment to the liberties of America." Dr. Lyman Hall was sent as a delegate to that Congress from St. John's parish, and was admitted "subject to such regulations as the Congress should determine relative to voting."

On the night of May 11, 1775, Joseph Habersham led a party of six men who broke into the powder magazine and took away all the ammunition it contained. Some of it was sent to South Carolina and some to Boston, and it is said that some of it was used at the battle of Bunker Hill. On June 5, 1775, the King's birthday, the first liberty pole was raised in Georgia. Following the example of the other colonies the people of Savannah, on June 22, 1775, elected a Council of Safety, of which William Ewen was made president. This council called a Provincial Congress to meet in Savannah July 4, 1775. Every parish was represented, and Archibald Bulloch was elected president. It endorsed all the proceedings of the Continental Congress, and fell in line with the other colonies so far as they had acted in regard to the oppressive measures adopted by Great Britain. Five delegates were elected to the Continental Congress, namely, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, Rev. John Joachim Zubly, Noble Wymberly Jones and Dr. Lyman Hall. The Congress established a Council of Safety in place of the council previously elected by the people, which body was authorized to act while the Provincial Congress was not in session. During this session of Congress it was ascertained that a British ship was shortly

expected to arrive with 14,000 pounds of gunpowder. An armed schooner manned by Commodore Oliver Bowen, Maj. Joseph Habersham and others, under commission of the Congress, proceeded to Tybee and captured the vessel. Part of her cargo was retained for use at home, and the rest was sent to General Washington.

On Jan. 17, 1776, several British war vessels appeared at the mouth of the Savannah River, and the Council of Safety ordered the arrest of Governor Wright so as to prevent his holding communication with them. Maj. Joseph Habersham volunteered, on the 18th, to carry out this resolve with the aid of some of his young friends. On the same day he boldly passed the guard at the governor's residence, made his way into the dining-room, where a dinner party had assembled, laid his hand upon the governor and said: "Sir James, you are my prisoner." The party were so astonished at this bold act that they fled. The governor gave his solemn promise not to make an attempt to escape, but, disregarding his parole, he did escape on February 11, and secured safety on board a British ship lying in the river below the city of Savannah. A new Provincial Congress convened in Savannah on Jan. 22, 1776, and Archibald Bulloch was again elected president. A form of government was adopted, and the title of chief magistrate was changed from governor to "President and Commander-in-Chief of Georgia." To this new office Archibald Bulloch was elected.

The delegates to the Continental Congress from Georgia, elected in July, 1775, were Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, Dr. J. J. Zubly, Dr. Lyman Hall and Dr. Noble Wymberly Jones. In January, 1776, Bulloch, Houstoun and Hall were reëlected, but Button Gwinnett and George Walton succeeded

Zubly and Jones. Archibald Bulloch could not attend on account of duties he had to perform at home as President of Georgia, and John Houstoun was detained at home. The Declaration of Independence, therefore, was signed only by Hall, Gwinnett and Walton, and the news of the passage of that most important measure reached the people of Georgia on Aug. 10, 1776, by whom it was received with demonstrations of great joy. By it Georgia agreed to stand with the other twelve colonies in abjuring allegiance to the mother country, and the thirteen sisters continued to stand together until their independence was secured, holding fast all the time to the resolve that progress should mark every step in their history.

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William Harden,
Librarian, Savannah Public Library.

Chapter II.

GEORGIA IN THE FEDERAL UNION, 1776-1861.

Condition in 1776.

The colony of Georgia was by fifty years the youngest of the "original thirteen." At the beginning of the War for Independence its population was still small and sparse, totalling about 20,000 whites and 17,000 blacks. The people realized that they lived on an endangered frontier, exposed to attack from the strong Creek and Cherokee Indian con-

federacies and from any European powers which should hold Florida or Louisiana. The British government had shown the colony special favors, including an annual grant of moneys in payment of its official salaries. Since 1760 the colony had prospered greatly under Sir James Wright, one of the most able and devoted of all the British provincial governors. There were few local grievances, and the majority of people, as might well have been expected, were slow in joining the revolutionary movement. Before the close of 1775, however, the radical party secured control and sent delegates to the second Continental Congress. These radicals, furthermore, adopted a provisional frame of government for the commonwealth in April, 1776, welcomed the news of the Declaration of Independence which their delegates at Philadelphia had signed, and began to operate against the British in Florida.

First Constitution.

In response to summons by Archibald Bulloch, provisional governor of the state, a constitutional convention met at Savannah in October, 1776, and on the fifth of the following February promulgated the first regular constitution of the state. This vested the major powers of government in a legislature of a single house, which, among its functions, was to elect annually a governor and an advisory council. All members of the Assembly were required to own 250 acres of land or £250 worth of other property, and to be Protestants, but must not be clergymen. Courts of law were provided, and a bill of rights was included in the constitution.

Georgia in Revolutionary War.

In the years 1776-1778 there were half-hearted expeditions of continental troops and Georgia mil-

itia against the British post of St. Augustine, and there were wranglings of Loyalist and patriot factions in the interior, but the state had little experience of actual war. Near the close of 1778, the British army and navy began serious operations against the two southernmost states. Commodore Parker's fleet landed about 2,000 troops under Col. Archibald Campbell at the outskirts of Savannah, December 27. Gen. Robert Howe, commanding the American force of 672 men for the protection of Savannah, neglected to guard a private path across the swamp, was taken in flank December 29, and driven from the town with heavy loss. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, replacing Howe in command of a miscellaneous undisciplined and ill-equipped force, could only watch the British from the Carolina side of the Savannah River. Gen. Augustine Prevost brought British reinforcements from Florida and took command at Savannah, while Campbell advanced to Augusta, and, with the aid of local Loyalists under McGirth, occupied most of the Georgia uplands. After much irregular skirmishing, 400 Americans, among whose commanders Col. Elijah Clarke was conspicuous in the battle, defeated and destroyed a force of 700 British at Kettle Creek, Feb. 12, 1779. American forces under Generals Lincoln, Williamson, Rutherford and Ashe, now planned to unite and destroy Prevost's remaining army in the interior, which lay near the junction of Briar Creek and Savannah River. But the British surprised Ashe in camp and cut to pieces his body of 1,700 men. The British army in Georgia was now increased to about 5,000, the royal government, with Wright in charge, was reëstablished at Savannah, and nearly all the state reduced to submission. Near the end of April, Prevost invaded South Carolina with a view to capturing Charleston, but was re-

PULASKI MONUMENT, SAVANNAH.

pulsed by Lincoln in June, and fell back to stand on the defensive against an attack upon Savannah by French and American allies. Count D'Estaing reached the river in September with thirty-six ships of war and 2,800 men, and was joined before Savannah by Lincoln with an army of 2,000. After costly procrastination by D'Estaing, and brief ineffective siege operations, the combined attack by the allies on October 9 was decisively repulsed. The day witnessed the heroic deaths of Count Pulaski, leading a charge of the Continental dragoons which he commanded, and of Sergeant Jasper while fixing a flag upon a captured parapet. D'Estaing sailed away and Lincoln withdrew into Carolina. The British control was again extended over most of Georgia, the state government again became fugitive, and Indian depredations added to the suffering of the people at the hands of the British. Charleston fell before the British attack on May 12, 1780, and little hope was left to the local patriots except from the operations of partisan bands. There were many skirmishes in the interior, but no change in the fortunes of war until 1781, the northern march of Cornwallis diminished the British forces in Georgia and South Carolina to the strength of mere garrisons. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, liberated Continental troops to give aid in the South. Gen. Anthony Wayne besieged and captured Augusta June 5, 1782, and shut up the remaining British troops within Savannah, which was finally evacuated by them on July 11, 1782.

Georgia is reported to have furnished 2,679 troops to the Continental army, in addition to the partisan fighters, or minute-men, who rallied to meet emergencies and quickly disbanded afterward. A large number of skirmishes, as well as a few battles were fought upon Georgia's territory, and the wide

devastation of her fields was one of the fortunes of war.

Conditions at Close of War.

At the arrival of peace, the state in large part lay waste, the stock of slaves depleted by the carrying off of some 4,000 by refugee loyalists, and the indigo industry ruined by the loss of the British bounty. The state was heavily in debt and the finances chaotic. The governor, Lyman Hall, in 1783, urged the laying of adequate taxes, but the Assembly declined to do so and instead amplified the confiscation law (first enacted March 1, 1778), and provided for the payment of much of the current expense with the proceeds of forfeited loyalist estates. Among these that of Sir James Wright alone was appraised at nearly £34,000. In 1786 the Assembly emitted £30,000 in bills of credit, which rapidly depreciated and added to the prevailing embarrassment. With its public lands, meanwhile, the state was very generous. It gave a plantation each to Generals Wayne and Greene in gratitude for their services, and 20,000 acres to the Count D'Estaing. It also provided for the gratuitous distribution of land in liberal parcels (about 250 acres each) to soldiers in the late war and to other deserving citizens. The demand was so eager that upon the opening day, at Augusta, the mob of applicants partly wrecked the land-office. The state also devoted 40,000 acres, by acts of 1784-85, to the endowment of the University of Georgia, which it at that time chartered as the first of the American state universities. This institution, established at Athens, opened its doors to students in 1801.

Upon the southern frontier a disturbance arose in 1785 from desperadoes along the Florida boundaries, and disorders occurred in 1786 and occasionally afterward from bands of runaway slaves in the

swamps of the Savannah River. Disturbances on the Indian frontier were more or less chronic. The government of Georgia received overtures, August, 1787, from John Sevier, who claimed to be governor of the state of Franklin, proposing a joint campaign against the disorderly Creeks. Georgia was proceeding to raise 3,000 men for this purpose, when simultaneously the Creeks sued for peace and the state of Franklin collapsed. A boundary dispute between Georgia and South Carolina was referred by the two states to a joint commission, and adjusted by the treaty of Beaufort, 1787, which fixed the Tugalo River as the branch of the Savannah separating the two states, instead of the Keowee contended for by Georgia.

Georgia's Part in Forming the U. S. Constitution.

The proposal arising in 1785-6 for revising the Articles of Confederation and establishing a more perfect Federal Union were welcomed by the people of Georgia with particular enthusiasm because of the frontier location of the state and its need of strong backing in the event of any war with the Spanish, the French or the Indians. Upon receiving an invitation to send delegates to a convention at Philadelphia, the Assembly, Feb. 10, 1787, appointed six delegates, of whom only four attended, viz.: William Few, William Pierce, William Houston and Abraham Baldwin. The leading spirit among these was Mr. Baldwin, a graduate of Yale College, who had emigrated from Connecticut to Georgia, had fathered the University of Georgia and played a most worthy part in the general affairs of his time. The votes of Georgia in the convention were consistently cast for the strengthening of the central government, and excellent diplomacy was shown by her delegates in aiding minorities to shape the con-

stitution so that their constituents would accept it. When the constitution was presented to the states for ratification, the Georgia legislature promptly called a convention for the purpose, and the convention promptly and unanimously ratified it on behalf of the state, Jan. 2, 1788.

State Constitution Amended.

Attention was then turned to remodelling the state constitution. In this a peculiar process was followed. The legislature, under resolution of Jan. 30, 1788, selected three citizens from each county to be summoned as a convention, as soon as the Federal constitution should be ratified. This convention met in November and framed a new constitution, which was then submitted to a second convention elected by the people and empowered to amend and ratify it. The second convention contented itself with amending the instrument and passed it on to a third convention, to be elected, for ratification. This was finally accomplished May 6, 1789. The legislature was made bicameral, with a Senate to be popularly elected every third year. Senators were required to own 250 acres of land and assemblymen 200 acres, or £250 and £150 worth of property respectively. The governor with a two-year term, a 500-acre or £1,000 property qualification and a veto power, was to be chosen by the Senate from among three persons nominated by the House. This constitution was considerably amended in 1795, and in 1798 (May 30) was replaced by a more elaborate one, framed and adopted by a popularly elected convention. Under it the Senate, as well as the House, was given a one-year term, and the qualifications for membership were slightly changed. The governor was chosen by joint ballot of the two houses from 1795 to 1824, and then by amendment his election

was given to the people directly. The constitution of 1798 prohibited the importation of negro slaves from abroad after October 1 of that year. The capital of the state, which had been shifted from Savannah to Augusta in 1786, was changed to the village of Louisville in 1798, and to the town of Milledgeville, located for the purpose, in 1803. It continued at Milledgeville until its final transfer to Atlanta in 1868.

State Sovereignty—Eleventh Amendment.

Under the Federal constitution, Georgia had early occasion to contend for state sovereignty. In 1792 Mr. Chisolm, of South Carolina, brought a suit against Georgia in the U. S. Supreme Court. Georgia denied the jurisdiction of the court and resisted its judgment when rendered against her. Georgia's resistance in this case led to the adoption of the eleventh amendment to the Federal constitution, which thereafter prevented the occurrence of suits against a state by citizens of another state.

Yazoo Land Sale.

The generous land policy of Georgia promoted a rapid settlement of her territory, particularly in the uplands whither immigrants flocked from the partially exhausted lands of Virginia and North Carolina. The state's population in 1790 was 82,548 souls, including 29,264 negro slaves. In the next decade it increased, nearly double, to 162,686, including 59,486 negro slaves. Settlement was still mainly confined to the district, about a hundred miles wide, between the Savannah and Oconee rivers. The state had, however, a nominal ownership, or right of preëmption, over the territory westward to the Mississippi River, and the disposal of its distant western lands became a problem of much con-

troversy. In 1785 the legislature erected a county, named Bourbon, to comprise much of the Mississippi district, but repealed the act in 1788 and offered to sell the northern half of its western territory to the United States. The terms were rejected by Congress, but private companies now made bids for large western tracts. Speculators had secured a cession from the Choctaw Indians in 1785, and in 1789 three companies contracted with the state government to pay about $207,000 for a title from Georgia to some fifteen or twenty million acres of what was then called the Yazoo district from the Yazoo River which flows through part of it. Protests against the activity of these companies were made by the United States and Spanish governments, and the companies abandoned their enterprise without completing their payments or receiving title from the state. In 1794 the project was revived. Four companies offered a total of $500,000 for four great tracts, comprising the larger part of the present area of Alabama and Mississippi. Many prominent men of Georgia and neighboring states were concerned in this speculation, though its chief centre was at Boston. The companies distributed many of their shares among the members of the legislature, and the bill passed and was signed by Governor Mathews, under pressure, Feb. 7, 1795. Shortly after the sale was consummated a cry of bribery and corruption was raised by James Jackson, who denounced the sale in the newspapers, raised a great ferment in the state, resigned from the United States Senate, secured a seat in the state legislature, and carried through a bill (Act of Feb. 13, 1796) rescinding the act of the previous year. The legislature ceremoniously burned the documents concerned with the Yazoo sale, in token of its absolute repudiation. By this time the Yazoo com-

panies had sold lands to "innocent purchasers," and the issue as to the obligation of contracts was raised by the investors, who refused to receive back the purchase money and began to bombard Congress with petitions. The state endeavored to fortify its position by inserting a clause on the subject in the new state constitution, 1798, but the issue would not down. In 1802 the state transferred the problem to the Federal government by ceding its claim to all lands west of its present western boundary (the Chattahoochee and a line from the "great bend" of that river to Nickajack on the Tennessee). John Randolph had been on a visit in Georgia during the intense Yazoo excitement, and in Congress became the leading opponent of the Yazoo claimants. Year after year Randolph and the Georgia congressmen defeated bills for compensation to the Yazoo petitioners, until finally after the Supreme Court, in the case of Fletcher *v.* Peck, 1810, had declared the original sale valid and its annulment impossible, Randolph's resistance was overridden and the claimants compensated under an act of 1814 which appropriated $5,000,000 for the purpose.

Growth of State.

About 1795 there had begun a period of prosperity in Georgia which lasted until the restriction of trade with Europe just prior to the War of 1812. Sea-island cotton, introduced in 1786, filled the gap left by the ruin of indigo, and made the coast planters comfortable. And, much more important, the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1793, near Savannah, made the short-staple variety of cotton available for highly profitable production in a wide expanse of the uplands. Immigration into the Georgia Piedmont was strongly stimulated by this. The population of the whole state increased by

ninety thousand in the first decade of the new century, standing in 1810 at 252,433, of whom 105,218 were negro slaves. In 1802 the state invented, and thereafter maintained, a new land policy, that of gratuitously distributing newly acquired public lands by lottery. The lots were mostly 202½ acres in size, and all citizens of the state were given chances in the drawings. Fortunate drawers received fee simple to their lots, with no obligations as to residence or improvements upon them. The system gave every citizen a prospective pecuniary interest in every fresh acquisition of lands by the state, and it intensified the already eager demand for the expulsion of the Indians. The Cherokees were partly free from pressure for the time, because of their more remote location. The Creek lands were those most wanted, but the "Creek Nation" at the time was able to demand respect of its neighbors. Their territory lay adjacent to Spanish Florida and within reach of French Louisiana; the Chickasaws and Choctaws, possible allies, were near at hand, and English merchants were furnishing the Creek warriors, through the port of Pensacola, any supplies which they wanted and could pay for. The talented half-breed chief of the Creeks, Alexander McGillivray, made the most of their strategic position, and the reputation which his diplomacy had given the Creek confederacy lived on after his death (1793). In 1794 a body of Georgia frontiersmen, led by Elijah Clarke, squatted upon Creek lands and declared that they would hold them against all comers. But the governor of Georgia sent militia and ousted them without waiting for Federal aid. The state government, however, was anxious to acquire the lands by regular process, and brought all pressure that it could to that purpose. When ceding its western lands in 1802 the state required and secured

from the United States an agreement that the Federal government would, for the benefit of the state, extinguish the Indian title to all remaining lands within the state as soon as that could be accomplished peaceably and on reasonable terms. Numerous negotiations were held in the following years with a view to securing cessions, but both the Creeks and Cherokees proved tenacious of their Georgia lands, and they ceded only small tracts. Col. Benjamin Hawkins, U. S. Indian agent, aided greatly throughout his long service in keeping the peace on the Georgia frontier.

War of 1812.

Meanwhile, public attention was diverted to party politics and for a time very strongly to foreign affairs. The Republicans had so great a majority over the Federalists in the state that they themselves fell into factions. The North Carolina settlers in the Georgia Piedmont rallied around the Clarke family, while, in opposition, such of their neighbors as had come from Virginia joined hands with the planters in the lowlands in support of James Jackson and his younger associates, William H. Crawford and George M. Troup. But the factions did not acquire definite party machinery before the crisis in foreign relations united the state, for the time, in the one paramount policy of vindicating American honor against British insult.

The War of 1812 was supported with vigor. The only hostilities in which the state was involved were with the western or "Red Stick" division of the Creeks, who at Tecumseh's instigation declared war. A force of Georgia militia under General Floyd failed to reach the Red Stick territory, but Andrew Jackson marching from Tennessee crushed them at the Horseshoe Bend, and forced a capitulation at

Fort Jackson, Aug. 9, 1814. The news of peace with Great Britain, early in 1815, brought great rejoicing in Georgia, as elsewhere, and inaugurated a new period of prosperity. There followed "flush times" in the whole cotton belt. Amelia Island was the scene of smuggling and piratical operations during and after the war, but this irregularity was suppressed in 1817. Depredations by Indians and absconded negroes on the southwestern frontier of Georgia caused campaigns to be made, 1816-1818, against their forts on the lower Chattahoochee and in the province of Florida. With a large body of Georgia militia in his army, Andrew Jackson, in the so-called Seminole War, shattered the strength of the banditti, and incidentally wrecked the pretense of Spanish sovereignty in Florida. The purchase of that province by the United States in 1819 relieved Georgia of vexing problems in that direction, and left her people free to consider internal affairs.

State Politics.

The domestic factions promptly reappeared, with stronger organization than before the recent British war, though the duels and horse-whippings which had characterized the earlier régime were not continued. Crawford, after a useful career as a conservative leader in state politics had withdrawn into the Federal service. George M. Troup, George R. Gilmer, Jesse Mercer and John M. Berrien were among the leaders of the Troup party, which was the more aristocratic, and John Clarke, Matthew Talbot, John Forsyth, John M. Dooly and Wilson Lumpkin led the opposition, the Clarke party, which found most of its support among the frontiersmen and other non-slaveholding farmers. In heated contests Clarke was elected governor in 1819 and again in 1821, but in 1823 the Troup party secured a ma-

jority in the Assembly and Troup was made governor. In 1824 the choice of governor was given to the people, and in 1825 a most exciting campaign among the people resulted in the election of Troup over Clarke by a narrow majority. The fortunes of politics continued to vary between the factions, giving the governor's chair, the chief prize, to Forsyth in 1827, to Gilmer in 1829 and to Lumpkin in 1831. By this time Federal problems came in some measure to overshadow the local faction-fighting. Aside from the Indian problem, to be discussed below, the protective tariff furnished the most prominent issue. The Georgians had never given warm support to protection. The whole state became strongly opposed to the policy when, after 1824, the protected interests sought to heighten the degree of their advantage at the expense of the staple producers and the importing merchants. The legislature and other public bodies made numerous anti-tariff expressions, though no crisis arose in the state comparable to the Nullification episode in South Carolina. Crawford, the leading Georgian in Federal affairs, was first and last a moderate state-rights, low-tariff advocate, not doctrinaire, and not extreme, and his colleagues in Georgia took tone from him in these things, as in most affairs, except that they discarded moderation in the Creek and Cherokee crises.

Indian Affairs—The Creeks.

The Georgia-Indian controversies were matters of very wide interest in the middle eighteen-twenties (Creek) and the early thirties (Cherokee). All of the other states which had Indian problems on their own hands, principally New York, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, were much concerned with the Georgia contests as forecasting the later Indian

policy of the nation, and the politicians everywhere were exercised over the probable effects upon the doctrine of state rights. In such states as were erected from Federal "territories," the title of the public lands, upon removal of the Indians, was vested in the United States government. But in the case of one of the original states, like Georgia, the public lands, after the extinguishment of the Indian title, were the property of the state and would yield no Federal revenue. By buying out the Indians in Georgia, therefore, the central government would incur a dead expense, with no prospect of future reimbursement. At the close of the War of 1812 the people of Georgia began to reach the opinion that the United States government was creating within their state an Indian territory into which nearly all the Creek and Cherokee tribesmen were being concentrated. The treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814, for example, had extinguished the Creek title to a great and fertile tract in central Alabama, and drove many of the Indians eastward to new homes in Georgia. The state authorities protested at the time, and as years passed protested more vehemently, demanding of the President and Congress the discharge of their duty under the contract of 1802 between Georgia and the United States government. President Monroe repeatedly held negotiations with the tribal chiefs, and in 1821 secured from the Creeks a cession of nearly half of their remaining area in Georgia. The citizens, however, were soon clamoring again for the complete removal of the Creeks from the state. The Creeks by this time had yielded nearly all their holding in Alabama, and if they ceded more land in Georgia their whole population must remove to strange regions beyond the Mississippi. To this removal most of the Creek chiefs were firmly opposed, but a small group of

them, led by William McIntosh, a half-breed chieftain and a cousin of the Georgian governor, Troup, was in favor of complete sale and migration. This policy of the McIntosh faction was learned of late in 1824 by two commissioners whom Monroe had appointed to treat with the Southern Indians, and who themselves were Georgians with the Georgian eagerness for Creek removal. They notified the president of the situation and, acting upon somewhat ambiguous instructions from him, made a treaty at Indian Spring, Feb. 12, 1825, with McIntosh and his fellows. This chief purported to cede, on behalf of the Eastern Creeks, all title to all remaining lands in Georgia, in exchange for land beyond the Mississippi and $5,000,000 in money. Protests against its validity were made at the time, but the United States Senate ratified it promptly, and John Quincy Adams signed it March 5, as one of his first acts as president. The Western or "Red Stick" Creeks now raised a great clamor against the treaty, and they murdered McIntosh April 29, and drove his followers in terror to the white settlements for refuge. Impressed by this, President Adams sent agents to investigate, who promptly reported that the cession had been obtained fraudulently and the whole body of the Creeks were much incensed at it. Adams then adopted the opinion that the treaty was invalid and the cession of no effect. Governor Troup and the Georgia legislature, on the other hand, declared that the treaty had been justly made and was binding, that the ratification of the treaty had transferred the title to the land ceded from the Creek confederacy to the state of Georgia, and that the Federal government had no further jurisdiction in the matter. A new treaty was made at Washington, Jan. 24, 1826, by Adams and a Creek delegation, which professed to abrogate

the treaty of Indian Spring, and by which the Creeks, for a new money consideration, ceded most, but not all, of their Georgia lands. The Georgia governor and legislature refused to recognize the abrogation of the Indian Spring treaty, and ordered a survey of the whole Creek tract for distribution by lottery and early settlement by citizens. The Creeks drove out the surveyors, and Adams notified Troup that he would prevent the survey by force if necessary. Troup replied in defiance: "I feel it my duty to resist to the utmost any military attack which the Government of the United States shall think proper to make upon the territory, the people, or the sovereignty of Georgia. * * * From the first decisive act of hostility you will be considered and treated as a public enemy." On the same day, February 17, Troup ordered the state militia to prepare to repel invasion. Adams, meanwhile, had submitted the whole matter to Congress in a special message of February 5. Committees of each house reported early in March, advising against conflict with the state. The Senate committee, in fact, through the chairman, Thomas H. Benton, upheld the Indian Spring treaty as valid and declared that, if injustice had been done the Creeks, some other way must be found to imdemnify than by attempting to retrocede them lands in Georgia. By this time the most stubborn of the Creeks were obliged to abandon hope of retaining lands in Georgia, and by treaties of 1827 and 1828 their title to all remaining fragments of territory in Georgia was extinguished, and the whole body of the Creeks was removed beyond the Mississippi.

The Cherokee Controversy.

The Georgia government began to put similar pressure upon the Cherokee confederacy just at the

time when Andrew Jackson acceded to office and reversed the policy of the Federal executive in Indian affairs. The Cherokees, however, found a champion for their cause in the United States Supreme Court, under John Marshall's domination. The climax of the Cherokee problem was hastened by several developments between 1825 and 1830. On the one hand a number of white missionaries began to persuade the Indians to give up their roving habits, to till their fields and build substantial houses and otherwise attach themselves permanently to the district in which they then lived. A number of half-breed and white chiefs of the Cherokees at the same time caused the formerly loose confederation of villages to hold a constitutional convention upon Caucasian models, in 1827, and adopt a formal republican constitution declaring the Cherokee Nation to be one of the sovereign powers of the earth, owing no allegiance and acknowledging no dependence whatever. On the other hand, the Georgians denied the validity of such a constitution, and the legislature, by an act of December, 1830, paralyzed the working of the Cherokee "national" government. Meanwhile the discovery of gold deposits in the territory, in 1829, made the Georgians more impatient to expel the Cherokees altogether. The legislature enacted accordingly that the laws of the state be extended over such portion of the Cherokee district as lay within the state boundaries, and it forbade the residence of any white person in that district without license from the Georgia government. The chiefs carried into the U. S. Supreme Court a suit on behalf of the "Cherokee Nation" for injunction against the execution of these obnoxious laws by the state of Georgia. The majority of the court decided, however (1831), that although the Cherokees were a nation they were not a foreign

state, and therefore could not be a party to a suit before the court, and it denied the motion for injunction. Soon afterward the same attorneys brought a more hopeful case into the same court for the same purpose. It was the case of Samuel Worcester, a missionary whom the state authorities had arrested, tried and sentenced to imprisonment for illegal residence in the Cherokee territory. The case was brought into the Supreme Court upon writ of error. The decision of the court, rendered by Chief Justice Marshall, 1832, in favor of the plaintiff, declared that the extension of Georgia's laws over the Cherokee territory had been illegal and void, and the judgment of the court against Worcester was a nullity. Upon the rendering of this decision by the court it became the duty of the president to cause the release of the prisoner. Jackson, however, had taken the side of Georgia in the controversy, and he refused to execute the court's decision. Worcester staid in the Georgia penitentiary until he tired of martyrdom, when he petitioned for and obtained pardon from the governor. The Cherokees were forced to the conclusion that their claim of national sovereignty was hopeless, and likewise their effort to retain permanently their lands in Georgia. After some factional quarreling among them, the chiefs agreed to a treaty made at New Echota, Dec. 29, 1835, by which the "Cherokee Nation" ceded all of its land east of the Mississippi for an equal area in the west and a bonus of five million dollars in money. In 1838 the last of the fourteen thousand Cherokee Indians and their thirteen hundred negro slaves were escorted westward by Federal troops, and Georgia divided among her citizens in lottery parcels the final acquisition of her public lands.

Settlement of Indian Lands and Movement of Population.

Most of the attractive parts of the Creek and Cherokee acquisitions were settled with a rush. Some settlers came from the states lying just eastward, and to the promising townsites immigrants came from the far northern states. But in general the stream of interstate migration continued to flow across Georgia, dropping only a few stragglers on her lands. Georgia's own citizens were given advantage by the land lottery, and for the most part there was simply a westward and southwestward drift within the state. The statistics of population in Georgia were as follows: 1820, total 340,985, including 149,656 negro slaves; 1830, total 516,823, including 217,531 slaves; 1840, total 691,392, including 280,944 slaves; 1850, total 906,185, including 381,682 slaves, and in 1860, total 1,057,286, including 462,198 slaves. The number of free negroes was never above 3,500, and the number of foreign-born whites was likewise very small. The rate of increase in Georgia's population was only a little higher than that of the South as a whole, which indicates that the state furnished nearly as many emigrants in the westward movement of these decades as it received immigrants.

Nearly all the Creek tract lying above Macon and Columbus was known in advance to be excellent land for cotton, and it attracted planters by thousands with their slaves. Many thousands of yeomen farmers moved thither likewise, and for some years there was a free-and-easy regime, when men of the several sorts dwelt in the same localities and devoted their resources to the same industry. Some prospered largely from the work of five or ten or twenty field-hands on their respective plantations, others prospered more moderately from the labor of their own families and perhaps one or two slave helpers.

Then came the great cotton crisis of 1839 and a half decade of severe hard times to follow. Cotton prices fell to starvation levels. The less efficient producers were forced to abandon the industry. Thousands of small farmers sold their cotton lands for what they would bring, and moved away. Some moved south to the pine-barrens, and part of these fell into discouragement and became "poor white trash"; some moved west where there was always fresh opportunity; some moved north to the Georgia and Tennessee mountain valleys where they raised corn and wheat, apples, pigs and turkeys, which they marketed in the plantation districts; some moved away as far as the Ohio and Illinois country where they would be free of competition from plantation gangs in their work; and some, and these the larger portion, found no sufficient reason to emigrate, but stayed where they had settled, in the cotton lands of western Georgia, lived on as best they might during the lean years, and prospered thereafter as before, amidst their plantation neighbors.

Railroads.

The construction of railroads had begun in the state in the early thirties, with main lines from Augusta and Savannah toward the centre of the state. After much discussion, the legislature, in 1836, committeed the state to the building of a railroad with public funds to connect the Georgia roads with the Tennessee River and the great Northwest. After many political vicissitudes, this road was completed in 1850. Soon after roads were built southwest from Macon and Atlanta, extending the cotton belt in that direction. The general effect of the railroads was to cheapen food supplies and manufactures for the planters, and intensify their devotion to the production of cotton. At the same time the

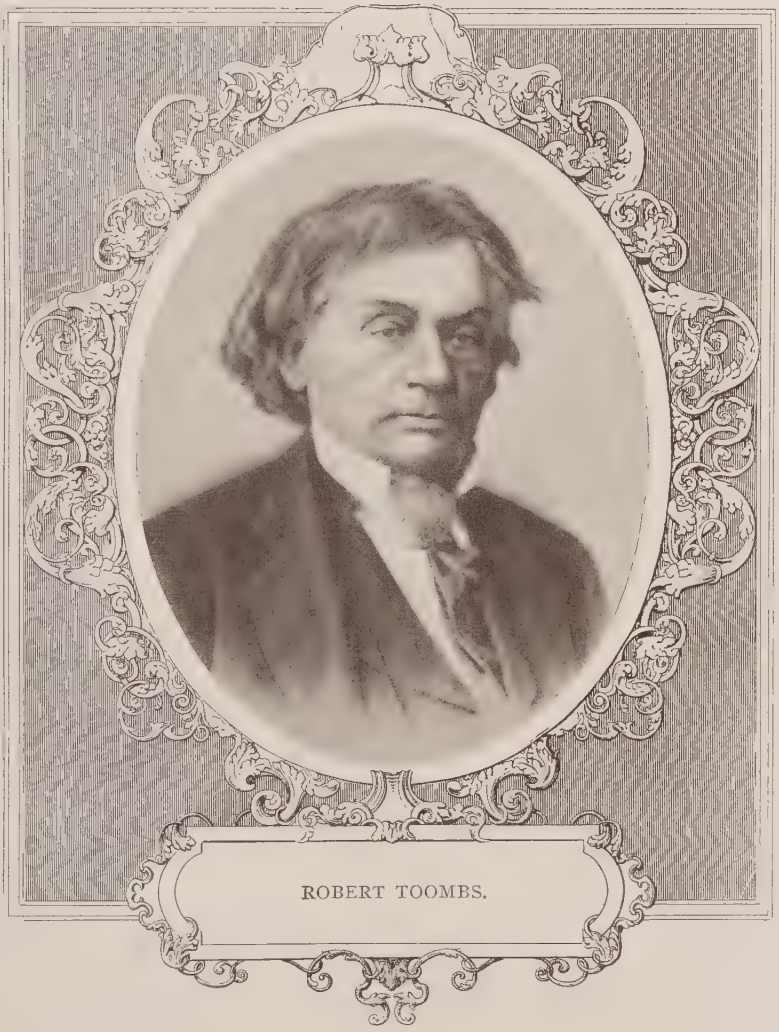
railroads, by bringing in the miscellaneous products of more favored producers outside the state, injured the cereal-producing farmers in and near the cotton belt, and crippled most of the local manufactories. The railroads had been launched and built largely with the political purpose of aiding the South to keep pace with the North in population and other material development. They were a failure in this, and as intersectional relations became more strained, the situation of the South, as viewed by the Southern statesmen, grew desperate.

Slavery Question.

The rise of the slavery issue between the sections, in the early thirties, began more effectively than anything before to merge Georgia's policy, and even her identity, into that of the slaveholding and slavery-defending South. Her people tended strongly to embrace the pro-slavery views of Dew of Virginia and Harper of South Carolina, and to accept the teachings of Calhoun that the rights and powers of the states were useful in the period mainly for safeguarding the interests of the South as a section. In fact, the sentiment was developing, half-consciously, that the South, with its peculiar conditions and special needs, ought to have a separate national government of its own and that an early opportunity should be seized for establishing this. Georgia was neither in the van nor in the rear of this movement. Among her politicians there were no fire-eaters as radical as Yancey of Alabama, or Quitman of Mississippi, and no nationalists as uncompromising as Brownlow of Tennessee. The Georgia spokesmen of the forties and fifties were a new group, but differed little from the older school. The local parties had twice changed their names—the Troup party to State Rights and then to Whig,

and the Clarke party to Union and then to Democrat; but the general attitude of their members and their leaders had changed little. The two factions continued to oppose one another in elections, but as formerly they could find few issues upon which they could differ. Upon Federal relations the people of the state were almost a unit in their general attitude from the time of the Creek controversy to the time of secession. From 1845 onward the most prominent and powerful Georgians in politics were Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens and Howell Cobb. The first two were Whigs, and Cobb a Democrat, but their policies were almost identical. The Georgians of whatever faction had had the idea of the importance of their state and the justice and value of state rights bred into them, and they were quite generally ready to use their state machinery for any purpose to which it might appear that it ought to be devoted.

The Wilmot Proviso, proposed in 1847, began to draw the slavery controversies to a focus. Toombs, Stephens and Cobb were among the leading champions of Southern interests, and in 1849-50 they made fierce denunciations of the Northern policies and threatened secession if Northern aggressions were not stopped. Their purpose in this was in large part to carry through the compromise measures of 1850. But their constituents at home became highly wrought over the emergency as described in the speeches in Congress, and the legislature provided for the call of a convention to take action on Federal relations. In the summer of 1850 the prospects were that this gathering would be of radical tone. But as soon as Clay's compromise was adopted by Congress, the three Georgians hurried home and canvassed the state to secure the election of delegates who would vote to accept the compro-



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mise. The convention, which met at Milledgeville December 10, proved to have a great majority of delegates favorable to the compromise. By a vote of 237 to 19 it adopted a set of resolutions widely known as the Georgia Platform, which declared that although the state was not entirely content with the compromise just reached by Congress, yet on the basis of that agreement she desired to remain in the Union; but that in case of any further aggression by the North the attitude of Georgia would be reversed, and disruption would most probably ensue. Charles J. McDonald led an effort to form a party in the state to reject the compromise, but he received little support. The action of the Georgia convention put the first check upon the very menacing secession movement in the Lower Southern states in the early fifties, and caused the defeat of the impulse, though it lived in South Carolina and Mississippi until the end of 1851. When the Whig party fell apart in 1852, some of its Georgia membership, including Toombs and Stephens, went over to the Democrats, while the rest went for a time into the Know Nothing order, and toward the end of the fifties called themselves Constitutional Unionists and advocated further compromise. But the Kansas-Nebraska quarrels, the Dred Scott Decision, John Brown's raid and Lincoln's election brought on such a crisis that compromise was no longer possible.

Secession.

In the debates of the final secession movement in Georgia the differences of opinion were merely variations in degree, and not differences in kind. The constitutionality of secession was conceded by practically everyone of importance. The burning question was as to its expediency. On this the shades and shiftings of opinions were extremely

various. Herschel V. Johnson was a secessionist in 1850, but was a Douglas Democrat (vice-presidential candidate), and a Unionist in 1860; Eugenius A. Nisbet, on the other hand, was a compromiser in 1850 and a secessionist in 1860. Toombs, Stephens and Howell Cobb wavered together for a period, then Toombs and Cobb went with the secessionists while Stephens opposed on the ground of insufficient grievances. Benjamin H. Hill emerged as a new leader in 1857, denying the expediency of secession, but he was more than offset by Joseph E. Brown, governor from 1857 to 1865, sprung from yeoman stock and swaying thousands of mountaineers and other non-slaveholders. Brown believed that the South should strike for national independence, and that in the new nation the state should demand better guarantees of state rights than had existed in the Federal Union. As governor, Brown did much to hasten secession. Finally, Thomas R. R. Cobb, a tyro in politics though a jurist of distinction, contributed the idea that secession need not mean a permanent disruption of the American Union, but that the Southern states could probably reënter the Union if they wished, and in so doing secure better guarantees of their interests than they now had. Prodded by the action of South Carolina, Georgia, through her convention, adopted the secession policy Jan. 19, 1861, and thereby made it certain that at least the Lower South would strike for national independence.

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Ulrich B. Phillips,
Professor of History, Tulane University of Louisiana

Chapter III.

GEORGIA IN THE CONFEDERACY, 1861-1865.

Secession Accomplished.

The election of a President by a purely sectional party, which had in various ways shown undisguised hostility to the South and her institutions, a party, which for the first time since the formation of the government was represented in but one section of the Union, excited in Georgia and the other South Atlantic and Gulf states a feeling of genuine alarm.

All agreed that the South was in great peril. The only point of difference was as to the remedy.

The conservative sentiment of the people of Georgia was shown in the presidential election of 1860. The most pronounced Southern rights Democrats carried the state by a plurality vote, polling for

Breckinridge and Lane 51,893 votes, while the united vote for the Bell and Everett and Douglas and Johnson electors was 54,435. After the result of the election became known, the tide began to set strongly toward secession, which was stoutly advocated by Howell and Thomas R. R. Cobb, Henry R. Jackson and Francis S. Bartow, while Alexander H. Stephens, Herschel V. Johnson and Benjamin H. Hill stood just as firmly against it.

The Georgia legislature met early in November and, influenced by Gov. Joseph E. Brown, began to take measures for the defense of the state by creating the office of adjutant-general, to which position Henry C. Wayne, of Savannah, was appointed, by authorizing the acceptance of 10,000 troops by the governor, and by the purchase of 1,000 Maynard rifles and carbines for coast defense. The legislature also provided for an election on the first Wednesday in January of delegates to a convention which should determine what action the state should take in this emergency.

The secession of South Carolina on Dec. 20, 1860, added to the enthusiasm of those Georgians who favored immediate secession. Popular approval of the action of the South Carolina State Convention was manifested in the large cities and towns of Georgia by bonfires, the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. Volunteer companies that had been organized by act of the legislature began to offer their services to the governor, and many new companies were formed even in December, 1860. The zeal of the Georgia militia had shown itself as early as Nov. 10, 1860, when a convention of military companies, presided over by John W. Anderson, heartily endorsed the recommendations of Governor Brown looking to the defense of the state against possible aggression.

Before the assembling of the State Convention, which was called for Jan. 16, 1861, the people of Georgia became alarmed because of the removal, by Major Anderson, of the Federal garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, with the plain intention of subsequently using that strong fortress as a means for accomplishing the coercion of South Carolina. Governor Brown being advised that the people of Savannah would probably seize Forts Jackson and Pulaski, decided that it was advisable to occupy them with state troops, so as to prevent their seizure by the citizens on the one hand or by a hostile force on the other hand, before the Georgia Convention could decide on the policy which the state should adopt in this emergency. Under instructions from Governor Brown, issued Jan. 2, 1861, Col. A. R. Lawton, commanding the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia, having selected details from the Chatham Artillery under Capt. Joseph S. Claghorn, from the Savannah Guards under Capt. John Screven and from the Oglethorpe Light Infantry under Capt. Francis S. Bartow, 134 men in all, went by boat on the morning of January 3 to Cockspur Island and seized Fort Pulaski without resistance from the few men there stationed, who were allowed to continue in their quarters without restraint. These proceedings were reported to General Totten, at Washington, by Capt. Wm. H. C. Whiting, of North Carolina, afterwards a major-general in the Confederate States service.

The Georgia Convention assembled in Milledgeville Jan. 16, 1861, and was composed of 295 delegates representing every interest of the state. Among the delegates were George W. Crawford, ex-secretary of war of the United States and ex-governor of Georgia; ex-United States Senators Robert Toombs and Herschel V. Johnson, the last named being also an ex-governor of Georgia; ex-representa-

tives of the United States Congress, Stephens, Colquitt, Poe, Bailey, Nisbet, Chastain and Murphy (the last named died on the day of the assembly of the convention); ex-justices of the Georgia Supreme Court Benning, Nisbet, Linton, Stephens and Warner; ex-justices of the Superior Court, among them being Hansell, Tripp, Rice, Reese, Harris and Fleming. In addition to all these able statesmen were three of Georgia's most distinguished lawyers, Benjamin H. Hill, Thomas R. R. Cobb and Francis S. Bartow. The ministry and the college were represented by Nathan M. Crawford, president of Mercer University, and Alexander Means, ex-president of Emory College.

When the convention assembled, Asbury Hull, a gentleman of unblemished character and of well-known conservatism, nominated George W. Crawford as president and moved that he be elected by acclamation. This was done, and Albert Lamar, of Muscogee county, was then chosen secretary.

When, on the morning of the 19th, the convention met, it went into secret session on motion of Mr. Hull, and so soon as the doors were closed, Hon. Eugenius A. Nisbet, of Macon, offered the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, that in the opinion of this convention it is the right and duty of Georgia to secede from the present Union and to co-operate with such of the other states as have done or shall do the same for the purpose of forming a Southern Confederacy upon the basis of the Constitution of the United States.

"*Resolved*, that a committee of —— be appointed by the Chair to report an ordinance to assert the right and fulfil the obligation of the state of Georgia to secede from the Union."

The vote on the resolutions was taken: ayes, 166; nays, 130. The ordinance carrying the resolution into effect was then adopted, and George W. Crawford, the president, said: "Gentlemen of the convention, I have the pleasure to announce that the

state of Georgia is free, sovereign and independent."

Joined Confederacy

As soon as the result was announced to the great throng on the outside of the capitol the people applauded, the cannon thundered a salute, and that night Milledgeville was brilliantly illuminated. Similar demonstrations occurred that evening and the next in all the large towns and cities of the state. On January 28th the convention appointed commissioners to the several Southern states that had not yet seceded to present to them the ordinance of secession and the reasons which prompted its adoption. These commissioners were: to Virginia, Henry L. Benning; Maryland, Ambrose R. Wright; Kentucky, Henry R. Jackson; Tennessee, Hiram P. Bell; Missouri, Luther J. Glenn; Arkansas, D. P. Hill; Delaware, D. C. Campbell; North Carolina, Samuel Hall; Texas, J. W. A. Sanford.

On January 29th the convention adjourned to meet in Savannah in March. Meanwhile important events were occurring elsewhere. On the Sand Hills near Augusta was situated the arsenal, consisting of a group of buildings around a commodious and beautiful parade ground. Here were a battery of artillery, 20,000 stand of muskets, with a large quantity of munitions, guarded by a company of United States troops under command of Capt. Arnold Elzey, of Maryland, later major-general in the Confederate Army. On January 23d Governor Brown, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, Hon. Henry R. Jackson, who had been colonel of Georgia troops in the Mexican War, and Col. William Phillips, visited Captain Elzey and made a verbal request that he withdraw his command from Georgia. Upon that officer's refusal Col. Alfred Cumming, commanding the Augusta Battalion, was ordered to put his force in

readiness to support the governor's demand. These troops consisted of the Oglethorpe Infantry, Clinch Rifles, Irish Volunteers, Montgomery Guards, two companies of minute men (from which was soon after organized the Walker Light Infantry), the Washington Artillery and the Richmond Hussars. In addition to these there were about 200 mounted men from Burke county and a company of infantry from Edgefield District, South Carolina.

On the 24th, in obedience to instructions from J. Holt, Secretary of War of the United States, Captain Elzey accepted the terms offered by Governor Brown and surrendered the arsenal to the Georgia troops, who vastly outnumbered the force under Captain Elzey. The United States troops were not treated as prisoners of war, but retained their arms and company property, occupied quarters at the arsenal, had free intercourse with the city and surrounding country, and were to have unobstructed passage through and out of the state by water to New York, via Savannah. One of the terms of surrender was that the public property was to be receipted for by the state authorities, and accounted for upon adjustment between the state of Georgia and the United States.

Another noted incident of the month of January, 1861, was the seizure at New York, probably under orders of the governor of that state, of thirty-eight boxes of muskets that were about to be shipped to Savannah. After a sharp remonstrance, which was unheeded, Governor Brown directed Colonel Lawton to take sufficient military force and seize and hold every ship in the harbor of Savannah belonging to citizens of New York. Three days after this was done the guns were ordered released, but delay in forwarding them led to the seizure of other vessels. News being received that the guns were on the way,

the seized vessels were released. The Georgia Convention resumed its session at Savannah March 7, 1861, ratified the Confederate Constitution on March 16th, adopted a new State Constitution, authorized the issue of treasury notes and bonds for revenue for public defense, tendered a tract ten miles square for the Confederate seat of government, and transferred to that government the control of military operations, as well as forts and arms.

Georgia's delegation to the Confederate Provisional Congress, which met at Montgomery, Ala., consisted of Francis S. Bartow, George W. Crawford, Augustus Kennan, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, Thomas R. R. Cobb, Benjamin Harvey Hill and Augustus R. Wright.

When the provisional government of the Confederate States was organized with Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as president, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, was elected vice-president, and Robert Toombs was appointed secretary of state.

The first call to Georgia made by the government of the Confederate States was for troops for Pensacola. The enthusiastic reply to this call is shown in the fact that 250 companies were tendered. Georgia had already in the field the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia, organized prior to the war and commanded by Col. A. R. Lawton, upon whose appointment as brigadier-general H. W. Mercer was elected colonel and, when toward the close of 1861 he was promoted to brigadier-general, Col. Charles H. Olmstead was elected colonel.

Of the 250 companies that responded to the call for troops to serve outside of the state, ten were formed into a regiment and styled the First Regiment of Georgia Volunteers, with James N. Ramsey as colonel. These were sent to Pensacola, and six weeks later to Virginia where, in the Laurel Hill

campaign, they were the first Georgia troops to experience actual war. The First Independent Battalion of Georgia, under Maj. Peter H. Larey, consisting of four companies, was also sent to Pensacola, and to this battalion was attached the first company of Georgia troops that had gone from that state to Pensacola, being from Atlanta and first commanded by Capt. G. W. Lee.

The Georgia Secession Convention, prior to its adjournment at Milledgeville to meet in March at Savannah, had authorized the equipment of two regiments, to be either all infantry or infantry and artillery as the governor should decide. The organization of these two regiments had not been completed when active hostilities began, so the companies that had been then formed were consolidated into one command under Col. Charles J. Williams, and turned over to the government of the Confederate States as the First Georgia Regulars. Thus it happened that there were three First Georgia regiments.

Georgia Troops.

At the time of the first battle of Manassas, Georgia had organized 17,000 men, armed and equipped them herself at an expense of $300,000, and sent them into service mostly outside of the state. So generous was this outpouring of men and munitions that in September, 1861, when Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding the department of the West, called upon the governors for arms, Governor Brown was compelled to reply with great regret: "There are no arms belonging to the state at my disposal. All have been exhausted in arming the volunteers of the state now in the Confederate service in Virginia, at Pensacola and on our own coast, in all some twenty-three regiments. Georgia has now to look to the shotguns and rifles in the hands of her people for coast

defense, and to guns which her gunsmiths are slowly manufacturing."

Allowing for reënlistments and reorganization of commands, Georgia furnished to the Confederate cause ninety-four regiments and thirty-six battalions, embracing every arm of the service. There were commissioned from Georgia the following general officers: Maj.-Gens. Howell Cobb, Lafayette McLaws, David Emanuel Twiggs, Wm. H. T. Walker, Ambrose Ranson Wright, Pierce M. B. Young; Brig.-Gens. E. Porter Alexander, George T. Anderson, Robert H. Anderson, Francis S. Bartow, Henry L. Benning, Wm. R. Boggs, Wm. M. Browne, Goode Bryan, Thomas Reed Rootes Cobb, Alfred H. Cōlquitt, Philip Cook, Charles C. Crews, Alfred Cumming, George Pierce Doles, Dudley M. DuBose, Clement A. Evans, Wm. M. Gardner, Lucius J. Gartrell, Victor J. B. Girardey, George P. Harrison, Alfred Iverson, Henry Rootes Jackson, John K. Jackson, A. R. Lawton, Hugh W. Mercer, Paul J. Semmes, James P. Simms, Wm. Duncan Smith, Maxley Sorrel, Marcellus A. Stovall, Bryan M. Thomas, Edward Lloyd Thomas, Robert Toombs, Claudius C. Wilson, Wm. T. Wofford. Of these, Brig.-Gen. Clement A. Evans commanded a division for the last five months of the war, and it is said that commissions as major-general had been made out for him and for Brigadier-General Benning just before the collapse of the Confederacy.

Georgia furnished three lieutenant-generals: Wm. J. Hardee, John B. Gordon and Joseph Wheeler, the latter of whom became a citizen of Alabama and congressman from that state. Lieutenant-General Longstreet, after the war, made his home in Georgia, and all that was mortal of him sleeps in her soil.

The naval officer from Georgia of highest rank was Commodore Josiah Tattnall.

Civil Officers of Confederacy.

Of civil officers of the Confederacy and members of the Military Staff of President Davis, the following were from Georgia: Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens; First Secretary of State Robert Toombs; Philip Clayton, assistant secretary of the treasury; John Archibald Campbell, assistant secretary of war; Alexander Robert Lawton, quartermaster-general of the Confederate States; Isaac Munroe St. John, commissary-general; Wm. M. Browne, an Englishman, but a citizen of Georgia, assistant secretary of state; James D. Bulloch, naval agent to England.

During 1861 the Georgia troops in Virginia did good service in the first and second West Virginia campaigns, and at the first Battle of Manassas, where the heroic Francis S. Bartow, commanding a brigade, fell dying at the close of the dashing charge which swept the Federals from the Henry House plateau. His last words, "They have killed me, but never give up the fight," were like a bugle call to valorous deeds that found an echo in the hearts of thousands of Southern patriots ready to do or die in the cause of home and native land.

War Conditions in Georgia—Campaigns in the State.

Early in the fall of 1861 Governor Brown, having visited the coast and ascertained that the measures taken for its defense by the Confederate government were insufficient, determined to call out the state troops. Early in September George P. Harrison was appointed a brigadier-general of state troops and ordered to organize a brigade and arm it as far as possible with army rifles and the balance with

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

good country rifles and shotguns, and place the men in camps of instruction near the coast. This brigade was rapidly formed of volunteers eager for the service and put in good condition. F. W. Capers was commissioned brigadier-general and assigned to the same duty. A third brigade was formed by Brig.-Gen. W. H. T. Walker.

During this period Ira R. Foster ably acted as state quartermaster-general, and Col. J. I. Whitaker as commissary-general. Hon. Thomas Butler King had been sent to Europe as commissioner to arrange for direct trade. In equipping Fort Pulaski and other fortifications, and in arming and maintaining troops and other expenses of war, Georgia had spent $1,000,000. Among these expenditures was the purchase of steamers for coast defense.

Commodore Josiah Tattnall, a native Georgian who, while an officer in the United States Navy, had been greatly distinguished in China and Japan, having resigned from the old navy upon the secession of his native state, was appointed senior flag officer of the State Navy, which did not then possess a boat or a gun. In March, 1861, he was appointed commodore in the Confederate States Navy, and assigned to whatever navy he could find or create in the waters of South Carolina and Georgia. He went diligently to work, and during the summer produced, in what was called a "Mosquito fleet," the semblance of a navy by arming a river steamer and a few tugs with such guns as could be procured. He was ordered by the Confederate government to distribute this little fleet along the coast from Port Royal south, for the special purpose of aiding vessels coming from England with war supplies.

Early in September Brig.-Gen. A. R. Lawton, who had been in command of the district of Savannah since April 17th, informed the secretary of war that

additional troops were badly needed for coast defense. He had at this time an aggregate present of about 3,000 men at sixteen posts, the most important of which were Tybee Island, Camp Lawton, Fort Pulaski, Sapello Island, Fort Screven, Savannah and Brunswick. On Oct. 26, 1861, the military department of Georgia was created and General Lawton was put in command, with headquarters at Savannah. Three days later he was notified that the enemy's fleet had sailed for the South. Lawton's force had, by efforts already described, been greatly increased, and Col. Hugh Mercer was appointed brigadier-general. General Lawton now had in his department about 2,000 men under General Mercer at and near Brunswick, and about 3,500 north of the Altamaha and generally near Savannah. About 500 of these forces were cavalry, well mounted and armed, and the remainder included three batteries of artillery. About 2,000 of the infantry were well drilled and disciplined. There were also available about 3,000 state troops "armed in a fashion" within a few hours' call. The channels of approach to Savannah were being blocked by the efforts of the navy under efficient officers. The coast defenders were cheered by the tidings that Gen. Robert E. Lee, who had during the latter part of the summer and fall been commanding in West Virginia, had been appointed to command the military department, including the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida. Commodore Tattnall, with his little flotilla of three vessels, with great audacity attacked the Federal fleet at the entrance of Port Royal sound November 4th and 5th. After the capture by the Federal fleet of Forts Walker and Beauregard, and the occupation of Hilton Head by the enemy, Tattnall succeeded in bringing off his little fleet in safety. There were other skirmishes between the Federal

gunboats and Tattnall's mosquito fleet. In order to force the Federal gunboats to pass under the fire of the guns of Fort Pulaski, as they approached Savannah, piles were driven into the channels which open into the river on the north and south, and other obstructions made which, for the time, were effective. Lieut. James H. Wilson, later a great cavalry leader, endeavored to remove these piles, and had nearly cleared a passage when detected and driven off by Commodore Tattnall.

Ordnance Officer W. G. Gill, just before the fall of the forts near Port Royal, South Carolina, gave the following statement of the condition of the Georgia coast defenses: On the south end of Jekyl Island, one 42-pounder and four 32-pounders, with 60 pounds of shot and shell; on the St. Simon's Island batteries one 10-inch and one 8-inch columbiad, two 42 and five 32-pounders, with 75 rounds of ammunition; at Fort Pulaski, on Cockspur Island near the mouth of the Savannah River, five 10-inch and nine 8-inch columbiads, two 10-inch mortars, two 42-pounders, twenty 32-pounders, one 24-pounder and a very good supply of ammunition. Fort Jackson, near the city of Savannah, had one 32-pounder rifle, five 32-pounders and three 18-pounders. Thunderbolt battery had one 8-inch gun and three 18-pounders. Green Island battery had one 10-inch rifled gun, one 10-inch and two 8-inch columbiads, two 42-pounders and four 32-pounders.

After the occupation of Hilton Head and Port Royal by the United States forces, Federal light draught gunboats went through Ossabaw, Warsaw, St. Helena and Cumberland sounds as far down as Fernandina, Fla., rapidly taking possession of the whole coast line, except the entrance to Savannah harbor. They did not, as yet, attempt to attack Fort Pulaski.

In November the famous steamship *Fingal,* that had been bought on the Clyde in September, 1861, by Capt. James D. Bulloch, of Georgia, naval agent of the Confederate States, and which had sailed from Greenock, Scotland, early in October under the British flag and with a British captain, under the direction of Capt. Bulloch and Pilot Makin, evading the blockaders, entered the port of Savannah. She brought 10,000 Enfield rifles, 1,000,000 ball cartridges, 2,000,000 percussion caps, 3,000 cavalry sabers, 1,000 short rifles and cutlass bayonets, 1,000 rounds of ammunition per rifle, 500 revolvers and ammunition, two large rifled cannon, two smaller rifled guns, 400 barrels of cannon powder and a lot of medical stores and material for clothing. No single blockade runner ever again brought into any port of the Confederacy so large a cargo of military and naval supplies.

Of this rich cargo, 1,000 Enfield rifles had been shipped directly to Governor Brown, and 9,000 for the Confederate government. One-half of these were ordered to be distributed by General Lee to the troops of Georgia and South Carolina, with the condition that the troops receiving them must enlist for three years or for the war.

On the latter account, Colonel Dow's regiment of Mississippians was armed out of the guns expected by Georgia.

Captain Bulloch made several attempts to get to sea again with the *Fingal,* but was foiled by the blockaders.

Gen. Henry R. Jackson, who had, as brigadier-general, commanded Georgia troops in the West Virginia campaign of Cheat Mountain and along the Greenbrier River during the summer and fall of 1861, having been appointed by Governor Brown major-general of the state forces, assumed command

Dec. 28, 1861, with headquarters at Savannah. General Jackson hastened to inform General Lee that the division of state troops under his command was placed at the latter's disposal for the defense of Georgia, whereupon General Lee expressed gratification, adding "I will direct General Lawton to indicate to you where your troops can be of most service and to designate such points as you may take under your exclusive charge."

The year 1862 opened with considerable activity along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. On January 26th an expedition comprising 2,400 infantry under Gen. Horatio G. Wright, in transports convoyed by six gunboats, anchored in Warsaw sound and on the next day made a reconnaissance of Wilmington narrows up to the obstructions of sunken hulks and piling, while a similar reconnaissance reached the obstructions at Wall's cut. On the 28th four months' provisions and supplies of ammunition were sent down to Fort Pulaski under the protection of Commodore Tattnall and his fleet. Upon nearing the fort they were fired upon by the Federal gunboats north of the Savannah under Rodgers and by those south under Davis, presenting the strange spectacle in which the contestants were separated by land. The supplies were successfully thrown into the fort; but as the gunboat *Samson* and her two unarmed companions sailed back up the river, several rifle shells were sent through her, hurting no one and doing no serious damage. As the boats, on their return from their adventurous errand, approached the docks at Savannah, they were wildly cheered by the vast crowds there gathered.

When the Federals succeeded in removing the obstructions from Wall's cut and were becoming more and more aggressive, General Mercer, in command at Brunswick, under orders from General Lee, re-

moved the batteries from St. Simon's and Jekyl Islands and sent the heavy guns to Savannah.

The terms of service of many state troops expiring, great difficulty was experienced in getting them to reënlist. But there was no delay in supplying every regiment which Georgia had been asked to contribute to the Confederate service, for when twelve regiments were asked, eighteen were furnished.

On February 18th came news of the fall of Fort Donelson and the capture of its garrison. President Davis now called General Lee to Richmond as his military adviser, and sent Maj.-Gen. John C. Pemberton, an officer of the old army, having a fine reputation as an engineer, to command the department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. The Federal forces, which since the last of January had been erecting batteries along the north side of Tybee, were ready by April 10th to attack the Confederate garrison of 400 who, under Col. Charles H. Olmstead, were holding Fort Pulaski. The land troops of the Federals operating for the reduction of the fort numbered near 3,000 men under Maj.-Gen. David Hunter and Brigadier-Generals Benham, Viele and Gilmore. To the demand for a surrender, Colonel Olmstead replied that he was there "to defend the fort, not to surrender it." So at 8:15 on the morning of April 10th all the beleaguering batteries opened fire. After a gallant resistance the fort was rendered untenable and terms of capitulation were arranged by Colonel Olmstead and General Gilmore. The terms of capitulation were that the sick and wounded of the garrison should be sent under a flag of truce to the Confederate lines, but this provision General Hunter refused to ratify, and the whole garrison was sent to the forts in New York Harbor. General Hunter on May 9th issued a proclamation declaring all

slaves in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida to be henceforth free forever. President Lincoln, however, annulled this order and rebuked the act of General Hunter. The first negro regiment in United States service was at this time organized by Hunter.

It soon became evident that the fall of Fort Pulaski did not involve the capture of Savannah. The Confederate force on the Georgia coast was amply able to resist any force of Federals then in that quarter.

On April 16th a reconnaissance of Whitemarch Island by seven companies of the Eighth Michigan Regiment under Col. W. M. Fenton led to a spirited affair. This force, 300 strong, was resisted by 100 men of the Thirteenth Georgia Regiment under Captains Crawford and McCally, who held the superior force of the enemy at bay until reinforced by Col. Marcellus Douglas, when they drove back the Federals, with a loss to the Georgians of four killed and fifteen wounded. Colonel Fenton reported his loss as ten killed and thirty-five wounded.

Outside of the state, Georgia soldiers appeared to great advantage in all the campaigns of 1862 east of the Mississippi River. At Shiloh the Washington Light Artillery of Augusta (known also as Girardy's battery), Capt. Isadore P. Girardy, attached to the brigade of John K. Jackson, rendered conspicuous service and suffered severe loss, while the Mountain Dragoons of Capt. I. W. Avery, by their efficient and arduous labors, proved themselves worthy of their comrades of the infantry and artillery.

The proximity to the northern part of the state of the Federal forces in the spring of 1862 led to the celebrated raid of James J. Andrews, whose purpose was to break up railroad communication south of Chattanooga, so that Buell might the more readily capture that important point. Andrews and nine-

teen of his men, at an appointed time, were in Marietta, Ga., and, buying tickets to various points as regular passengers, boarded the northward-bound mail train. At Big Shanty, now called Kennesaw, while the train stopped for breakfast, Andrews and his men uncoupled a section of the train consisting of three empty box cars with the engine (called "The General"), which they at once manned with two experienced engineers, who set this fraction of the train in rapid motion before the sentinels standing near suspected the movement. Wm. A. Fuller, conductor of the train, and Anthony Murphy, foreman of the Atlanta machine shops, who happened to be on the train, comprehending what had happened, ran on foot until they found a hand car, with which they pushed on until they found an engine ("The Texas"), and then pressed Andrews and his party so closely that they abandoned "The General" and took to the woods. They were all captured within a few days and Andrews, with seven of his men who had gone into the expedition with full knowledge of its character, were convicted and executed as spies. Some of the others finally escaped and some were exchanged. It is probable that the Federal officer was correct in his views, who said that Andrews and his bridge burners "took desperate chances to accomplish objects of no substantial advantage."

Though the battle of Shiloh, which began with such glorious promise and closed with such disappointment of exalted hopes, had failed of its main object, it, together with subsequent movements of the western Confederate armies, gave a check to the triumphant march into the heart of the Southwest, which Grant had planned and begun immediately after his great victory at Donelson.

The brilliant campaign of Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley, his skilful march to form a junction

with Lee at Richmond, and the raising of the siege of the Confederate capital by these combined forces under the leadership of Lee in the Seven Days' Battles, changed the whole plan of the Federal armies for 1862, and for months threw the invaders upon the defensive and kept them there until near the close of the year. Although after the end of the Maryland and Kentucky campaigns the Union armies began another advance, their aggressive was halting and timorous and brought to a sudden termination for several months by the decisive Confederate victory of Fredericksburg in Virginia, the drawn battle at Murfreesboro in Tennessee and the disastrous repulse of Sherman's attack at Chickasaw Bayou, near Vicksburg, Miss. In all these movements the soldiers and officers of Georgia bore their full share of hardship and danger, and obtained their full proportion of all the honors won by as gallant hosts as were ever marshalled for battle since time began.

The short space allowed for this sketch of Georgia in the Confederacy does not permit the recital of the exploits of Georgians beyond the borders of the state.

In July, 1862, the armed cruiser *Nashville* ran the blockade into Savannah with a cargo of arms. This was the first commissioned armed cruiser of the Confederate States.

In November, 1862, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, with his regiment of South Carolina negroes, committed many depredations on the Georgia coast.

The message of Governor Brown to the legislature in November described the military work of the year. Of $5,000,000 appropriated, $2,081,004 had been expended; 8,000 state troops had been employed and supported for six months; the state's quota of Confederate war tax, $2,500,000, had been paid; a state armory had been established in the penitentiary, which was turning out 125 guns a month.

The constitutionality of the Confederate Conscription Acts, submitted to the legislature by Governor Brown and referred by that body to the State Supreme Court, was by the latter body fully sustained. Other war measures of the legislature of 1862 were acts restricting the cultivation of cotton to three acres a hand, for the purpose of diversifying agricultural industry and making the people self-supporting; appropriating $500,000 to supply the people with salt; $100,000 for cotton cards; more than $500,000 for obstruction of rivers; $400,000 for the relief and hospital association; $1,500,000 for clothing for Georgia soldiers; $2,500,000 for the support of widows and families of dead or disabled soldiers; $1,000,000 for a military fund and $300,000 to assist in removing indigent non-combatants from any part of the state threatened with invasion. The governor was authorized to raise two regiments for home defense and to impress slaves for work on the defenses of Savannah.

At the beginning of 1863 the United States authorities were collecting at Charleston harbor a fleet of nine iron-clads for an attempt to capture Fort Sumter and Charleston harbor. Admiral Dupont, commander of the fleet, detached one of these, the *Montauk,* for a trial against McAllister. This work, constructed on Genesis Point to guard the approach to Savannah by the Ogeeshee river, was in charge of Maj. John B. Gallie, supported by troops under Col. R. A. Anderson, its main armament consisting of one rifled 32-pounder and one 8-inch columbiad. The *Montauk,* under John L. Worden, who had fought the *Virginia* in Hampton Roads, assisted by four wooden gunboats, on Jan. 27, 1863, attacked Fort McAllister, and after a four hours' bombardment, withdrew defeated.

A still more determined attack followed on Febru-

ary 1, and the Federal monitor and gunboats again suffered defeat, though the Confederates paid for their victory by the death of their brave commander, Maj. John B. Gallie.

On February 27th the *Nashville* (or *Rattlesnake,* as she was now called) ran aground not far above the obstructions in the Ogeechee. On the following morning Worden, having observed this, steamed down with his vessel under the guns of the fort, and from a point about 1,200 yards from the cruiser, poured in such a fire as to blow up the vessel. But the *Montauk* was so much injured by the explosion of a torpedo in the channel that she was compelled to run upon a bank out of range to repair damages, while her pumps, with difficulty, kept her afloat. But the most formidable attack upon Fort McAllister was made on March 3d by the three new monitors, the *Passaic, Patapsco* and *Nahant,* assisted by mortar boats. For seven hours 15- and 11-inch shell and shot were hurled at the fort, and the mortar boats kept up the din all night with no effect, except slightly wounding two men and temporarily dismounting the 8-inch gun and 42-pounder. But the dawn of March 4th found the damage repaired and the fort as good as ever.

Admiral Dupont, who was preparing for his naval attack upon Charleston, now decided to save his ammunition by letting Fort McAllister alone.

An expedition, which set out from St. Simon's Island on June 8, 1863, for the purpose of destroying the Confederate salt works near Brunswick was defeated; but on June 11th another expedition burned the town of Darien.

On the morning of May 3d, in North Georgia, the celebrated raid of Col. A. D. Streight, who, at the head of 1,500 men, had set out from Tuscumbia, Ala., on the night of April 26, 1863, for the purpose of de-

stroying railroads and machine shops, was brought to an end by the capture of the Federal raiders, who, deceived by the skilful strategy of Gen. N. B. Forrest, with a Confederate force of about one-third their strength, surrendered unconditionally to that wily and fearless chieftain, and were sent as prisoners of war to Richmond, Va.

The famous ship *Fingal,* whose successful running of the blockade with arms and ammunition in 1861 has already been narrated, having been converted into an ironclad and named the *Atlanta,* was placed under the command of Lieut. Wm. A. Webb, and under orders from the Confederate government on June 17, 1863, entered Warsaw sound for the purpose of attacking two of the best monitors of the Federal fleet, the *Weehawken* and *Nahant.* But the *Atlanta* was not suited for shallow water and ran fast aground within 600 yards of the *Weehawken,* where she became an easy prey to her enemies and, with very heavy loss of her crew, was compelled to surrender.

As the fall of 1863 came in, Georgia for the first time during the mighty struggle of the sixties felt the shock of a great invading host. Her troops had won distinction upon every battlefield of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi, and thousands of her valiant soldiers, through every grade from general officers to privates, had shed their blood for the Southern cause. At last upon the Georgia line the contending armies met, and the brilliant victory of Chickamauga drove back, for a time, the tide of invasion. In the Confederate army under Gen. Braxton Bragg, assembled in August, 1863, for the defense of Chattanooga, were the following Georgia commands: In John K. Jackson's brigade of Cheatham's division the second battalion of the First Confederate Regiment, Maj. James Clark Gordon; Fifth Regiment, Col. Charles P. Daniel, and the second bat-

talion of sharpshooters, Maj. Richard H. Whitely; in Bate's brigade of Stewart's division the Thirty-seventh regiment and fourth battalion of sharpshooters; in the brigade of Marcellus A. Stovell of John C. Breckinridge's division the Forty-seventh Georgia Regiment, Capt. W. S. Phillips; in W. H. T. Walker's division, S. R. Gist's brigade was half Georgian and C. C. Wilson's brigade almost entirely so; in the brigade of Col. John H. Kelly of Brig.-Gen. Wm. Preston's division the Sixty-fifth Georgia, Col. R. H. Moore; in Maj.-Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry corps in Col. C. C. Crew's brigade the Second Georgia Regiment, Lieut.-Col. F. M. Ison, the Third, Col. R. Thompson, and the Fourth, Col. I. W. Avery; in Brigadier-General Forrest's cavalry corps the First Georgia, Col. J. J. Morrison, and the Sixth Georgia, Col. John R. Hart in H. B. Davidson's brigade of Pegram's division; Co. G of Second Cavalry, Capt. Thomas M. Merritt, escort for General Cheatham; Scogin's Georgia Battery Melancthon Smith's battalion; Capt. Evan P. Howell's battery attached to Walker's division; Dawson's battery, Lieut. R. W. Anderson, and Co. E, Ninth Artillery battalion, Lieut. W. S. Everett, attached to Stewart's division; the batteries of Capts. Tyler M. Peeple and Andrew M. Wolihin of Leyden's Ninth battalion; in the reserve artillery under Maj. F. H. Robertson the Georgia batteries of Capts. M. W. Havis and T. L. Massenburg.

Of Longstreet's corps, Anderson's, Wofford's and Bryan's Georgia brigades did not arrive in time to take part in the battle. But the brigade of Gen. Henry L. Benning shared the fight of both days. In his brigade were the Second Georgia, Lieut.-Col. Wm. S. Shepard; the Fifteenth, Col. Dudley M. DuBose; the Seventeenth, Lieut.-Col. Charles W. Matthews; the Twentieth, Col. J. D. Waddell.

When on Sept. 7, 1863, Rosecrans sent McCook and Thomas to such positions south of Chattanooga as would flank that Confederate stronghold, Bragg abandoned the town and retired southwards. After several days of marching and counter-marching, being reinforced by a part of Longstreet's corps from Virginia, he began an advance against Rosecrans, who was concentrating his troops at Lee and Gordon's Mills, 12 miles south of Chattanooga. On September 19th Bragg attacked General Thomas, who commanded the left of Rosecrans' army. The day closed without decisive advantage to either side. During the night of the 19th each commander prepared for the decisive struggle, which all believed the morrow would bring.

General Bragg placed Lieut.-Gen. Leonidas Polk in command of his right wing, consisting of the corps of D. H. Hill and Wm. H. T. Walker, the division of Cheatham and the cavalry of Forrest. To Lieut.-Gen. James Longstreet he gave the left wing, embracing the corps of Buckner and Hood, the division of Hindman and the cavalry of Wheeler. Thomas, still commanding the left of Rosecrans' army, so arranged his force as to cover the Rossville (or Chattanooga) and Dry Valley roads. His line of battle began 400 yards east of the Chattanooga road on a crest which was occupied from left to right by four divisions: Baird's of Thomas' corps, R. W. Johnson's of McCook's corps, Palmer's of Crittenden's and Joseph J. Reynolds' division of Thomas' corps. On the right of Reynolds stood the divisions of Brannan and Negley. Across the Chattanooga road toward Missionary Ridge came the divisions of Sheridan and Jeff. C. Davis under McCook as corps commander, while Crittenden stood in reserve with the divisions of Wood and Van Cleve.

Bragg's plan of battle was successive attacks from

Braxton Bragg.

right to left. When the battle opened on the morning of the 20th, the divisions of Breckinridge and Cleburne of D. H. Hill's corps made a fierce assault upon Thomas, while to their help came the divisions of Gist and Liddell in the corps of Gen. Wm. H. T. Walker, and the strong pressure of the Confederates was increased by the advance of Cheatham's division. So hard was Thomas pushed that he called for help, and Rosecrans responded to his appeal by hurrying troops from the Union right, who, as they hastened to the left, exposed to the watchful eye of Longstreet a gap in the Federal line, through which that wary leader pushed the eight brigades of Bushrod Johnson, McNair, Gregg, Kershaw, Law, Humphrey, Benning and Robertson. Under the leadership of the dashing Hood, this strong force swept from the field Sheridan's entire division, two brigades of Davis' division and one of Van Cleve's, Hood falling desperately wounded as the shouts of victory rang in his ears. Longstreet, seeing at once the necessity of disregarding the order of the day, wheeled to the right instead of the left, overrunning and capturing battery after battery, wagon-trains, thousands of prisoners and the headquarters of Rosecrans, who, forcibly borne away with his routed right, hastened to Chattanooga—which had been for more than ten days in his possession—seeking in its fortifications refuge for his routed wing as well as for the troops under Thomas, who, helped by Gordon Granger, fought desperately to hold his ground, until night should enable him to withdraw the left wing of the defeated army without further disaster. As the shades of evening were gathering thick around, under the continued attack of the left wing under Longstreet and the right under Polk, the Federals were forced to give way, Gen. Wm. Preston's division gaining the heights and firing the last shots

of the battle by moonlight. As the Federals fell back, a tremendous shout from the charging Confederates thrilled their entire host with the story of victory.

The defeated Union army retreated to Chattanooga, where Rosecrans spent the day and night of the 21st hurrying his trains and artillery out of town, but, finding that he was not pressed, remained there with his army. Bragg spent the 21st in burying the dead and gathering the trophies of the field, among which were fifty-one cannon and 15,000 small arms. During the next two days he came slowly into position on Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, which he connected by a line of earthworks across Chattanooga Valley and sent into Lookout Valley a force which commanded the twenty-six-mile wagon road to Bridgeport, thus compelling the Union army to draw its supplies by an almost impassable mountain road of sixty miles. Thus Bragg hoped to force the defeated army to a surrender. The Federals were reduced to the verge of starvation, when the two corps of Howard and Slocum, from their Army of the Potomac under Hooker, and Sherman's army from Mississippi, came to their relief, and through dispositions made by Gen. U. S. Grant opened the way for obtaining supplies and for attacking the army under Bragg.

While Grant was concentrating everything for raising the siege of Chattanooga, the Confederate government sent 15,000 men from Bragg under the command of Longstreet to drive Burnside out of East Tennessee. Thus it happened that a little over two months after the great Confederate victory of Chickamauga, Bragg was defeated, November 25th, at Missionary Ridge, and Longstreet was repulsed at Knoxville November 29th. The silver lining to the cloud that overhung the South and Southwest was

the brilliant little Battle of Ringgold, where Cleburne gave check to the pursuing victors and turned them back for the time.

Chickamauga was the greatest battle fought on Georgia soil. Missionary Ridge and the Battle of Knoxville were entirely fought in Tennessee, and Ringgold made illustrious northwest Georgia. In the assault on Fort Loudon at Knoxville, November 29th, four Georgia brigades were conspicuous, Bryan's and Wofford's of McLaw's division, and Anderson's and Benning's of Hood's division, Benning being in support of the other three upon whom fell three-fourths of the loss in that day's battle.

In the Battle of Missionary Ridge, November 25th, Lieut.-Gen. Wm. J. Hardee commanded the right wing of Bragg's army and John C. Breckinridge the left. If George Thomas, who held the left of Rosecrans' army at Chickamauga, deservedly obtained by his bold stand the title "Rock of Chickamauga," Hardee, who just as stoutly held Bragg's right at Missionary Ridge, deserves equally the wreath of fame. Gen. Alfred Cumming's brigade of Stevenson's division won high praise from General Cleburne, who commanded Hardee's right in the repulse of Sherman at the Tunnel, and the Georgians who were in Bate's brigade of Breckinridge's division were also distinguished in repelling attacks upon their front. According to the reports of both Stevenson and Cleburne, the Georgians of Cumming's brigade joined with the Tennesseeans, Arkansans and Texans of Cleburne's division in driving back Sherman's troops, capturing prisoners and two of the eight stand of colors, taken in this victorious charge. The disastrous result elsewhere on the ridge made it necessary for Hardee to withdraw his wing that night, Cleburne's division covering the retreat.

At Ringgold Cleburne received orders to hold the

main gap in Taylor's Ridge and check the pursuit of the enemy until the trains and rear of Bragg's army were well advanced. Here Cleburne advantageously posted his division, embracing troops of Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee, and Goldthwaite's battery of Napoleon guns. Hooker, with the three divisions of Osterhaus, Geary and Cruft, at 8 A. M. of November 27th formed line and moved to the attack, which was so effectually repulsed by Cleburne's one division that the pursuit was checked and Hooker, by Grant's orders, returned to Chattanooga. By this brilliant battle, for which Cleburne and his men received the thanks of the Confederate Congress, the artillery and wagon trains of Bragg's army were saved, and the Confederates went into quarters around Dalton, which they fortified with a strong outpost at Tunnel Hill. In this new position they remained during the winter of 1863-64, and until the opening of the Atlanta campaign, May 5, 1864.

On June 22, 1863, Governor Brown, in obedience to a requisition from the Confederate government, issued a proclamation calling for the organization of a force of 8,000 men over the age of 45 years, or otherwise not subject to military duty, to be mustered in for six months from August 1st for home defense, stating, that "the President is obliged to mass the armies of the Confederacy at a few important keypoints and cannot, without weakening them too much, detach troops to defend the interior points against sudden incursions. He therefore calls upon the people of the respective states, who are otherwise not subject to be summoned to the field under the conscription laws, to organize, and, while they attend to their ordinary avocations at home, to stand ready at a moment's warning to take up arms and drive back the plundering bands of marauders from their own

immediate section of the country." The governor requested the citizens of the various counties to assemble at their court-houses on the first Tuesday of July and organize the number required of them by counties. To this call not merely 8,000, but 18,000 men responded. The command of this force was conferred upon Howell Cobb, promoted to major-general with headquarters at Atlanta, and under him were Brig.-Gens. Alfred Iverson, Jr., with headquarters at Rome, and Henry R. Jackson at Savannah. Maj.-Gen. Gustavus W. Smith, who, on account of ill-health, had resigned from the Confederate army, entered the service of the state, with special charge, for the time, of fortifications.

According to a statement published by authority of the government at Richmond, at the close of the year 1863, Georgia had lost a greater number of soldiers than any other state of the Confederacy. The list, as published, stands thus: Georgia, 9,504; Alabama, 8,987; North Carolina, 8,361; Texas, 6,377; Virginia, 5,943; Mississippi, 6,367; South Carolina, 4,511; Louisiana, 3,039; Tennessee, 2,849; Arkansas, 1,948; Florida, 1,119. In Georgia's loss were included the following general officers killed in battle: Francis S. Bartow, acting brigadier at First Manassas; Capt. W. F. Brown of the Twelfth Georgia, acting as brigadier-general at Chantilly or Ox Hill (commanding Trimble's brigade); Col. Marcellus Douglas, acting as brigadier-general (in command of Lawton's brigade) at Sharpsburg; Brig.-Gen. Thomas R. R. Cobb, at Fredericksburg; Brig.-Gen. Paul J. Semmes at Gettysburg; Col. Peyton H. Colquitt, acting as brigadier-general at Chickamauga. To Georgia's loss in general officers should be added Brig.-Gen. Claudius C. Wilson, who died in the service after the Battle of Chickamauga and just before that of Missionary Ridge.

At Dalton, Dec. 2, 1864, General Bragg issued a farewell address to the army of Tennessee and turned over the command temporarily to Lieut.-Gen. Wm. J. Hardee. On Dec. 16, 1863, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was assigned to the command of the Confederate Army of Tennessee at Dalton.

On Feb. 17, 1864, on account of Sherman's Meridian expedition, the divisions of Cheatham, Cleburne and Walker under Lieutenant-General Hardee were sent to reinforce Lieut.-Gen. Leonidas Polk in Mississippi, but they were soon recalled on account of Sherman's return to Vicksburg. When Grant learned of the departure of troops to Mississippi, he ordered Thomas to move forward and get possession of Dalton and as far South of that as possible. On February 24 fighting began near Dalton and continued during the next two days, when this attempt was abandoned and the Federal army returned to the neighborhood of Chattanooga.

Although the year 1863 had closed in gloom, yet before the opening of the spring campaigns in Virginia and Georgia the hopes of the Southern people had been revived by a series of brilliant triumphs. At Oulstee, in Florida, the troops of that state and Georgia (mostly those of the latter state) under Brig.-Gen. Alfred H. Colquitt and Col. George P. Harrison, with Joseph Finegan of the Department of Florida in chief command, gained a decisive victory (Feb. 29, 1864); at Okalona, in Mississippi (February 22), Forrest scored a success over Sherman's cavalry under Wm. S. Smith, then after other victories captured Fort Pillow (April 12); while the defeat of Banks in Louisiana (April 8 and 9) and Steele in Arkansas (April 25 and 30) with the recovery of much lost territory in both states, the naval triumph of the *Albemarle* on the Roanoke River in North Carolina, and the capture of Plymouth by

General Hoke (April 19 and 20), and the defeat of the raid of Kilpatrick and Dahlgren in Virginia in March, raised to the highest pitch the hopes of the valiant hosts, who, under Lee in Virginia and Johnston in Georgia, stood ready to dispute the advance of the invading hosts of Grant and Sherman respectively.

In each of the grand armies Georgia was well represented. In that of Northern Virginia, four of the nine brigades of Longstreet's corps were Georgians; those of Wm. T. Wofford, Goode Bryan, George T. Anderson and Henry L. Benning. In Ewell's corps were the Georgia brigades of George Doles of Rodes' division, and of John B. Gordon of Early's division. In A. P. Hill's corps were the Georgia brigades of Ambrose R. Wright of R. H. Anderson's division, and Edward L. Thomas of Wilcox's division. The Georgia batteries of Callaway and Carlton (the latter known as the Troup Artillery) were attached to the artillery of Longstreet's corps, commanded by a Georgian, Brigadier-General E. P. Alexander. With the second corps was the Georgia battery of Capt. John Milledge, while with A. P. Hill's corps was the Georgia artillery battalion of Col. A. S. Cutts, known as the Sumter Battalion. In the cavalry corps of Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, Georgia was represented by the brigade of Gen. P. M. B. Young, containing the Seventh Regiment, Col. W. P. White; Cobb's Legion, Col. G. J. Wright; Phillips' Legion; Twentieth Battalion, Col. J. M. Millen; and after July, one Georgia company with the Jeff. Davis (Miss.) Legion.

The Georgia troops in the Confederate Army of Tennessee at and around Dalton in early May of 1864 were: In Hardee's corps and Gen. Wm. H. T. Walker's division, J. K. Jackson's Georgia and Mississippi brigade, Gist's Georgia and South Carolina

brigade, C. H. Stevens' Georgia brigade and H. W. Mercer's Georgia brigade; in the same corps and Wm. B. Bate's division, Tyler's Georgia and Tennessee brigade; in Maj.-Gen. C. L. Stevenson's division of Hood's corps, Alfred Cumming's Georgia brigade, and in Maj.-Gen. A. P. Stewart's division of Hood's corps, Stovall's Georgia brigade. In Maj.-Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry corps in Maj.-Gen. W. H. Martin's division was the Georgia brigade of Alfred Iverson.

In artillery of Martin's battalion, Capt. Evan P. Howell's Georgia battery; of Palmer's battalion, the Georgia batteries of Capts. R. W. Anderson and M. W. Havis; of Johnson's battalion, Capt. Max Van D. Corput's Georgia battery; of Robertson's battalion, Georgia battery of Lieut. W. B. S. Davis.

The State Guards and Reserves consisted of men who had been regular soldiers, but were honorably discharged, of men over the military age or of youths under military age, also of state and county civil officers or employees in government shops who, upon the invasion of the state, were called into the field. These troops consisted of: First Battalion, Maj. W. R. Symons; First Regiment, Col. J. H. Fannin; First Battalion, known as "Augusta Fire Brigade," Lieut.-Col. C. A. Platt; Atlanta Fire Battalion, Lieut.-Col. G. W. Lee; Georgia State Guards, Lieut.-Col. J. R. Freeman; Second Regiment, Col. R. F. Maddox; Third Regiment, Col. E. J. Harris; Fourth Regiment, Col. R. S. Taylor; Fifth Regiment, Col. J. B. Cumming; twenty-six independent companies.

During the siege of Atlanta the following state troops participated: First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. R. W. Carswell, consisting of Col. E. H. Pottle's regiment (First); Second Regiment, Col. C. D. Anderson; Fifth Regiment, Col. S. S. Stafford; First Battalion, Lieut.-Col. H. K. McCoy; Second Brigade, Brig.-

Gen. P. G. Phillips, consisting of Third Regiment, Col. Q. M. Hill; Fourth Regiment, Col. R. McMillan; Sixth Regiment, Col. J. W. Burney; Artillery Battalion, Col. C. W. Styles; Third Brigade, Brig.-Gen. C. D. Anderson; Fourth Brigade, Brig.-Gen. H. H. McKay. The regiments composing the last two brigades are not given in the official records.

The Cadet Battalion from the Georgia Military Institute (Marietta, Ga.) served with distinction during the campaign from Dalton to the sea.

Sherman's Campaign in Georgia.

The army under Johnston numbered about 50,000 men at and near Dalton on May 5, 1864, when the Georgia campaign began. At Resaca, when Polk's corps from Mississippi had joined him, his strength was something over 70,000.

The three field armies concentrated under Sherman for the advance against Atlanta numbered 98,235, increased soon to 112,000.

On May 7, 1864, the Federal army had advanced past Tunnell Hill to Mill Creek Gap. On the 8th and 9th on Rocky Face, before Dalton and at Dug Gap, fierce attacks were made by the Federals and all their assaults were repulsed. The fight, said Sherman, "attained the dimensions of a battle."

Meanwhile McPherson's flanking army reached Snake Creek Gap near Resaca, and encountered only Grigsby's Kentucky cavalry and the cadets of the Georgia Military Institute, supported by Cantey's brigade. McPherson, deceived by the stout resistance of this small force, withdrew for the night to a position between Sugar Valley and the entrance to the gap.

Johnston had sent Hood with the divisions of Hindman, Cleburne and Walker to Resaca, but, learning of McPherson's withdrawal, ordered Cleburne

and Walker to Tilton, midway, and being advised that Polk had arrived at Resaca with Loring's division of the Army of the Mississippi, maintaining his position at Dalton during the 11th and 12th, during which time Wheeler, moving around the north end of the mountain, defeated Stoneman's cavalry, inflicting on them considerable loss in men and wagons.

On May 14 Sherman's movements caused Johnston to abandon Dalton and concentrate his army around Resaca. The fighting around Dalton had cost the Federals 800 men and the Confederates 400.

During May 14 and 15 there was heavy fighting around Resaca, in which Hood, with Stewart's and Stevenson's divisions, drove the Federal left from its ground, and Hindman repulsed Hooker's advance, but McPherson drove Polk's skirmishers from the hill in front of his left, which commanded the Western and Atlantic railroad bridge over the Oostenaula, and held it. John K. Jackson's brigade, having failed to drive back General Sweeney's flanking force, Johnston decided to abandon Resaca and retire toward Kingston.

On May 19, in and around Cassville, there was heavy skirmishing and Johnston planned to give battle here, but for reasons which were subject of considerable dispute between him and two of his three corps commanders, Hood and Polk, he decided to retire and crossed the Etowah next morning. Meanwhile a Federal division had occupied Rome, capturing a large amount of commissary and quartermaster stores.

Learning that the Federal army had crossed the Etowah far to the Confederate left, Johnston moved forward to meet them and took up a position between Dallas and the railroad. Along this line there were ten days of continuous fighting, which included heavy skirmishing and three fierce engagements between

portions of the two armies. On May 25, at New Hope Church, Hooker attacked Stewart's division of Hood's corps, but his vigorous assaults resulted in a succession of bloody repulses. A heavy storm with vivid lightning and peals of thunder blending with the cannon's roar and the musket's sheet of flame added to the grandeur of these awful charges. Hooker's loss was 1,406 and Hood's less than 400.

Two days later Sherman sent Howard with two divisions to turn Johnston's right, which brought on a desperate encounter at Pickett's Mill in which Howard suffered a severe defeat, losing 1,500 men to a Confederate loss of 400.

Next day, as McPherson began to withdraw from Dallas, Bate's division of Hardee's corps quickly assailed his three divisions, meeting with a repulse in which the loss of the opposing forces was about 400 on each side.

On June 4 Johnston found that the Federal army extended far beyond his right and drew back to a new line.

Sherman and Johnston agree in calling this series of engagements near Dallas, from May 25 to June 4, the Battle of New Hope Church, and Sherman calls it a drawn battle.

Now for several days there were constant skirmishes between the two armies, whose comfort was greatly interfered with by steady rains. On June 14, on Pine Mountain, Lieut.-Gen. Leonidas Polk was killed by a cannon shot while reconnoitering the position of the Federals.

On June 19 the Confederate army was placed in a new position, the key to which was Kenesaw Mountain. On June 22, at Kulp's (or Kolb's) Farm, Schofield's and Hooker's troops attacked Hood's corps and were repulsed by the Confederates, who in turn, trying to capture the Federal entrenched artillery,

were repulsed, their loss of 1,000 men exceeding that of the Federals by several hundred. After five days more of steady skirmishing, Sherman made an assault all along the Confederate front (June 27). This assault was preceded by a furious cannonade, which fairly shook the ground. Then the bugles sounded the charge and the attacking columns rushed forward. Logan, supported by Blair and Dodge, moving against the Confederate right east of the mountain and against the mountain itself, lost heavily, seven of his regimental commanders falling dead or wounded. A furious attack upon Cockrell's Missourians of French's division was also repelled with heavy loss. The skirmishers of Walker's division, attacked in front and on each flank, were forced to withdraw, but being halted on the crest of a little hill and aided by French's cannon on Little Kenesaw, drove back the Federals before they came near Walker's line of battle. The determined assault of Palmer's corps with Hooker in reserve upon the intrenchments held by Cheatham's and Cleburne's divisions was repulsed with great slaughter to the assailants. "By 11:30 the assault was, in fact, over and had failed," says Sherman in his *Memoirs,* and in another account of this battle he states: "We failed, losing 3,000 men to the Confederate loss of 630." Among Sherman's killed were Generals Harker and McCook. After a few days Sherman tried another flank movement and on the night of July 2 Johnston abandoned Kenesaw Mountain, the scene of his recent victory, and Marietta, leaving no trophies of any kind to the enemy.

In all the fighting on this line the Federal army had lost 8,000 men and the Confederate army 4,000.

Johnston fell back until he had crossed the Chattahoochee river, and on July 17 received instructions to turn the army over to Lieut.-Gen. John B. Hood,

temporarily commissioned as general, a leader more aggressive and less cautious than General Johnston. He had been disabled in an arm at Gettysburg and lost a leg at Chicamauga, yet was in the field at the opening of the campaign of 1864. The army turned over to General Hood, when he took command (July 18) was about 50,000 strong, to which must be added about 5,000 state troops under Maj.-Gen. Gustavus W. Smith.

On July 20 Hood sent the corps of Stewart and Hardee to attack Thomas' wing of Sherman's army, while only partially intrenched at Peachtree Creek. The attack proved a failure. Brig.-Gen. H. H. Stevens, of South Carolina, was among the killed.

McPherson, with Sherman's left wing, had already seized the Augusta railroad and was preparing to continue his flanking movement to the Macon road. Unless this movement could be checked, Atlanta was in danger of speedy capture. Hardee was directed to move with his corps to the extreme left and rear of the Federal army, Wheeler's cavalry accompanying him, and to attack at daylight or as near thereafter as possible. When Hardee became fully engaged, Cheatham was to take up the movement from his right and G. W. Smith, with the Georgia state troops, was then to join in the attack. General Stewart on Hood's left was ordered to watch Thomas and prevent his going to the aid of Schofield and McPherson, and to join in the battle the instant that the movement became general. The attack was made July 22 with great gallantry, but was only partially successful. At the close of the day the Confederate right held part of the ground previously occupied by the Federal left, Hardee bearing off as trophies eight guns and thirteen stands of colors, and Cheatham capturing five guns and five stands of colors. Both Hood and Sherman

claimed the victory. As to these claims this much can be said: Sherman's orders prove that he expected to swing into Atlanta that day, which he had failed to do; Hood hoped to surprise and drive Sherman's army down Peachtree Creek, and this he had failed to do. But he had defeated Sherman's flank movement toward the Macon road and saved Atlanta for a time. The loss of the Federals in this day's fight, known as the Battle of Atlanta, was near 4,000 men, among whom Gen. James B. McPherson was killed. The Confederates lost somewhat more, the exact number not being given separately. Among their killed was Maj.-Gen. W. H. T. Walker, of Georgia.

Six days after this an attempt upon Sherman's part to turn the Confederate left brought on the battle of Ezra Church, which was fought by Lieut.-Gen. Stephen D. Lee, now in command of Hood's old corps against Sherman's right. The Confederates failed with heavy loss in their fierce assault, yet the Federal movement also failed of complete success.

Meanwhile Sherman sent out two great cavalry raids, one under General McCook down the right bank of the Chattahoochee and thence across the West Point road to the Macon road below Jonesboro, and the other under General Stoneman from the left flank of the Federal army toward the railroad from Macon with instructions to push on to Andersonville, if possible, and release 34,000 Union prisoners there confined. Wheeler sent Iverson to look after Stoneman, while he attended to the column under McCook. Near Newnan General Wheeler defeated McCook, inflicting heavy losses in killed and wounded and capturing 950 prisoners, two cannon and 1,200 horses with equipments. Wheeler pursued beyond the Chattahoochee and well nigh completed the destruction of McCook's command. On the same day

(August 2) Stoneman, with 500 of his men, surrendered to Gen. Alfred Iverson, who, with Maj.-Gen. Howell Cobb, had defeated the Federals the day before at Macon and then had pushed after them in swift pursuit. Iverson also captured many more of Stoneman's routed troops as they fled toward Eatondon, together with the horses of all the men captured with Stoneman and two cannon. These two brilliant victories put out of the combat about 3,000 of Sherman's 10,000 cavalry. Wheeler, being now sent to the rear of Sherman's army, burned the bridge over the Etowah, captured Dalton and Resaca and destroyed thirty-five miles of railroad, then going into Tennessee, together with Forrest, did much damage to the Federal lines of supply in that state.

But Sherman continued to extend his lines westward and southward from Atlanta. In one of these movements General Schofield's corps of Sherman's army attacked Major-General Bate near Utoy Creek (August 6) and was repulsed with heavy loss.

Thinking that in the absence of Wheeler he could employ his own cavalry to advantage, Sherman sent Kilpatrick against the Macon road, but this expedition was defeated by Gen. W. H. Jackson's Confederate horsemen, and a Federal raid along the Augusta road was at the same time (August 22) repelled.

During the month of August, from the 9th until the 25th, Atlanta was subjected to a furious bombardment, that of the 9th being the most terrible of all. General Hood, in his *Advance and Retreat,* says: "Women and children fled into cellars. It was painful, yet strange, to see how expert grew the old men, women and children in building their little underground forts, into which to fly for safety during the storm of shell and shot. Often mid the darkness of night were they constrained to seek refuge in

these dungeons beneath the earth. Albeit I cannot recall one word from their lips expressive of dissatisfaction or willingness to surrender."

On the night of August 25, Sherman, despairing of taking Atlanta by direct attack, disappeared from the Confederate front and began a flank march to the south and west of Atlanta. He sent Slocum with his sick and wounded to hold an entrenched camp on the Chattahoochee with one corps, while with his other five he marched to Fairburn on the West Point road and then turned southward towards Jonesboro, which place the head of his column reached August 30. Thither Hood sent Hardee with his corps and that of Stephen D. Lee to attack the Federals. But Hardee found them already intrenched and failed to drive them out (August 31). Lee's corps then marched back to protect Hood's line of retreat from Atlanta. Hardee's single corps was now attacked by greatly superior forces of the enemy, but, notwithstanding the piercing of his centre and the capture of the greater part of Govan's brigade and eight of his cannon, by hard fighting he restored his line and stoutly held it until night. By this gallant stand at Jonesboro, Hardee enabled Hood to withdraw in safety from Atlanta and concentrate his forces at Lovejoy next morning, September 2.

On this same day Sherman took possession of Atlanta, scoring the first decisive victory won by the Union armies in the campaigns of 1864.

But Hood, instead of retreating southward, in less than two weeks moved westward, and on September 20 fixed his headquarters at Palmetto on the West Point railroad. Here President Davis visited the army, to which he made an encouraging speech and in conjunction with General Hood formed a plan, by which it was hoped Sherman might be made to let go his conquests in Georgia. By marching north-

ward and destroying the single line of railroad over which the Federal army drew its supplies, it was hoped that Sherman could be compelled to retire into Tennessee. But, if he should start from Atlanta to march through Georgia, Hood's army could fall upon his rear, while other forces placed in his front might, by united efforts, effect his overthrow. President Davis never intended that General Hood should move his army beyond striking distance of that of Sherman.

Hood crossed the Chattahoochee on October 1 and marched to Dallas, destroyed the railroad for fifteen miles above Marietta and sent General French to capture Allatoona. That officer attacked this post in the early morning of October 5, captured part of the Federal works and drove the Federals under Corse into a little star fort, which he would have forced into a surrender but for the approach of Sherman with his army. French, retiring, rejoined Hood, who, still moving northward, tore up the railroad from Resaca to Tunnel Hill and captured the Federal posts at Tilton, Dalton and Mill Creek Gap. Then, avoiding battle, he marched to Gadsden in Alabama, where he had abundant supplies. Thence he moved in the direction of Florence on the Tennessee. Sherman says that thus far Hood's movements had been rapid and skilful. He had thus far prevented any farther advance of the Federal army in Georgia, for Sherman, leaving one corps to hold Atlanta, had marched northward after Hood. Thus, for more than two months after the fall of Atlanta, Hood kept Sherman in North Georgia. Sherman now sent by rail two of his six corps to reinforce General Thomas, who had been put in command of Tennessee with headquarters at Nashville. With the rest of his army Sherman then turned back toward Atlanta. Hood, instead of hanging on his rear, after consult-

ing with General Beauregard, who had been placed in command of the western department, decided to march into Tennessee.

Let us pause here to consider the losses of the opposing armies from the opening of the campaign at Dalton, May 7, to the fall of Atlanta, Sept. 2, 1864. The greatest strength of the Union army during that period was 113,000 effective troops. Its losses were reported as 4,423 killed, 22,822 wounded and 4,442 captured or missing—31,087.

The greatest strength of the Confederate army is placed by some at 65,000, by others at 84,000. Probably 71,000 effectives is a correct estimate. The Confederate losses were 3,044 killed, 18,952 wounded and 12,983 captured—34,979. Major Dawes, of Cincinnati, estimates that each army lost, in round numbers, 40,000.

Soon after Sherman had captured Atlanta, he thought that Georgia could be politically isolated from the other states of the Confederacy, and sent ambassadors to Vice-President Stephens and Governor Brown; but they refused to have anything to do with his propositions and announced the determination of Georgia to succeed or fall with her Southern sisters.

On November 14 Sherman concentrated around Atlanta 60,000 infantry in four corps, the right wing under Howard and the left under Slocum, and 5,500 cavalry under Kilpatrick.

Under Sherman's orders Capt. O. M. Poe "thoroughly destroyed Atlanta, save its mere dwelling houses and churches." There was no effort to keep the flames from spreading and about eleven-twelfths of the city was destroyed. Capt. Daniel Oakey, of the Second Massachusetts Volunteers, says: "Sixty thousand of us witnessed the destruction of Atlanta, while our post band and that of the Thirty-third

Massachusetts played martial airs and operatic selections." Nothing can be added to this testimony of the barbarism that marked this whole transaction, which was a fitting sequel to the expulsion of the people of Atlanta soon after its occupation by General Sherman.

There was no force to oppose Sherman's march except 3,000 Georgia Reserves (state troops) under Maj.-Gen. Gustavus W. Smith and Wheeler's cavalry. These forces, by presenting a bold front at Griffin, Forsyth and Macon successively, caused Howard to pass those places unmolested.

At Griswoldville the state troops, contrary to the orders of General Smith, made an attack upon an intrenched Federal division and were repulsed, losing 51 killed and 472 wounded. Yet they remained close to the Federal line until dark, when they were withdrawn to Macon and sent by rail to Thomasville, and from that point to Savannah.

As the Federal army approached Milledgeville, attempts were made to remove the state property and archives. Since the penitentiary had been used for the manufacture of arms and would probably be destroyed, Governor Brown released the convicts and organized them into a uniformed and enlisted battalion under Captain Roberts, which did good service in removing property and in resisting the advance of the enemy.

Along the line of march, Sherman's "Bummers" entering private houses, took everything valuable, burned what they could not carry off and sometimes set fire to the house itself. They tore rings from the fingers of ladies and hung up old men to make them tell where treasures were buried.

Wheeler, with his cavalry, was almost ubiquitous, defeating exposed detachments, preventing foragers from going far from the main body, defending cities

and towns along the railroad lines, and in some instances saving arsenals and depots of supplies.

The gallant defense of the railroad bridge over the Oconee river by part of the Georgia reserves and the cadets of the Georgia Military Institute held Howard's advance in check during the 23d and part of the 24th of November. Throughout the 23d the cadets under Austin held the railroad bridge, and Maj. A. L. Hartridge drove back a Federal detachment which had found its way over the river. Throughout the 24th, Gen. H. C. Wayne, in command at this point, kept the bridge until night, stoutly holding one end of it, though the enemy set fire to the other.

Wheeler, at midnight on November 25, learning that Kilpatrick was moving against Augusta, hastened to check him, his march lighted by the barns, cotton gins, corn-cribs and houses fired by the Federals. Near Waynesboro he routed Kilpatrick so effectually that the Federal horsemen sought the protection of their infantry, from which they did not venture again during the campaign.

Since Beauregard was unable to collect troops enough to do more than delay Sherman's march, the Federal army appeared on December 10 near Savannah, which city was defended by 18,000 troops under Lieut.-Gen. Wm. J. Hardee. The approaches to Savannah by water had been hitherto successfully defended, and on the night of July 3, 1864, the Federal gunboat *Waterwitch* had been captured by a boarding party under Lieuts. Thomas P. Pelot and Joseph Price, and added to the Confederate navy with Lieut. W. W. Carnes in command. In this brilliant affair Lieutenant Pelot was killed. We have seen that Fort McAllister had scored victory after victory over the Union fleet. Now the little fortress was put to the severest test of all. On De-

cember 13 Maj.-Gen. Wm. B. Hazen, with his division about 4,000 strong, assaulted Fort McAllister, which was defended by only 230 men. These fought the assailants until they were individually overpowered. Sherman was now able to communicate with his fleet. For eight more days Hardee, with his little army, held Savannah against Sherman's army of more than three times his numbers, and then withdrew across the Savannah, having made one of the most successful retreats of the war.

Before the evacuation Commodore Tattnall destroyed the Confederate ships and naval property, blowing up the water battery Georgia, burning and sinking the *Milledgeville* and *Waterwitch* and destroying the navy yard and a large quantity of ship timber. The small steamers *Beauregard* and *General Lee,* an unfinished torpedo boat, 150 cannon and 32,000 bales of cotton fell into the hands of the Federals. The ironclad *Savannah* was still in the river when the United States flag was raised over Fort Jackson, and its commander, Captain Brent, promptly opened fire, drove the troops from the guns of the fort and defiantly flew the Confederate flag until the night of the 21st. Then, running his vessel over to the Carolina shore, he disembarked his crew to join Hardee's column, and at 10 o'clock blew up the *Savannah.*

General Sherman reported that he had destroyed the railroads for more than 100 miles, had carried away more than 10,000 horses and mules, as well as a countless number of slaves. He said: "I estimate the damage done to the state of Georgia and its military resources at $100,000,000, at least $20,000,000 of which has inured to our advantage, and the remainder is simply waste and destruction."

At the close of 1864 the polls of the state had decreased from 52,764 to 39,863. The state's expendi-

ture for the year had been $13,288,435, and bank capital had decreased one-half. It required $49.00 of Confederate money to buy $1.00 of gold. Governor Brown claimed that during the fall and winter Georgia had a larger proportion of her white population under arms than any other state in the Confederacy. On Jan. 23, 1865, Gen. Wm. T. Wofford assumed command of the Confederate force in North Georgia with headquarters in Atlanta. There was great destitution through all this section. He called in and organized several thousand men and obtained corn which he and General Judah, of the Federal army, distributed among the people, the two generals having made a truce for that purpose.

Notwithstanding the dreadful condition of affairs, the legislature, which assembled in February, passed resolutions sustaining the continuance of the war.

When the campaign of 1865 opened, the soldiers of Georgia, both in Virginia and in the Carolinas, were ready as ever to stand by their colors to the bitter end. It was the chivalric Georgian, John B. Gordon, who made the desperate attack upon Grant's lines at Fort Stedman, and who, at Appomattox, led the last attack made by the army of Northern Virginia. It was Brig.-Gen. Clement A. Evans, acting as major-general in command of Gordon's division, which included the troops of the old Stonewall Brigade, who, after Lee and Grant had agreed upon terms of surrender, but being on the extreme left, knowing nothing of what had happened, led a successful charge, which shed a parting glory over the army of Northern Virginia.

The last noteworthy military event in Georgia was the cavalry raid of Maj.-Gen. James H. Wilson in April, 1865, who, with 10,000 cavalry, swept through Alabama and entered Georgia near West Point, one of his detachments under Colonel LaGrange defeat-

ing a small Confederate force under Gen. Robert C. Tyler (who was killed) April 16. On the same day at Columbus another division of Wilson's force defeated Howell Cobb, capturing 1,200 men and fifty-two field guns. Wilson's forces now took up the line of march for Macon, but when within thirteen miles of Macon they were met by Brigadier-General Robertson of Wheeler's corps under a flag of truce, bearing a letter from General Cobb announcing an armistice between Generals Johnston and Sherman; but before General Wilson could take action, Colonel White, of his command, dashed into the city and received its surrender, Generals Cobb, G. W. Smith and Marshall and the garrison being held as prisoners of war. When informed of the armistice, General Wilson issued the necessary orders to carry it out. On April 30 he received notice of the final capitulation of all the Confederate forces east of the Chattahoochee river.

The last cabinet meeting of the Confederate government was held in Washington, Ga., on May 4 and 5, 1865. On the morning of May 10, 1865, near Irwinville, Ga., President Davis was captured.

Georgia at Close of War.

The close of the war found Georgia in a sad condition. The assessed valuation of the whole taxable property of the state had been reduced from $600,000,000 in 1860, to less than $200,000,000, her resources of every kind had been fearfully depleted, her territory ravaged, her workshops destroyed, her slaves had been freed and her people reduced to poverty. But, with the same courage that had been displayed through all the four years of war, the brave men and noble women of Georgia wasted no time in pining over their lost cause and ruined fortunes. With indomitable spirit they went to work

to repair the waste and desolation of war. How well they have succeeded is shown by the proud position which Georgia holds to-day in the restored Union.

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Joseph T. Derry,

Author of *The Military History of Georgia; The Story of the Confederate States, etc.*

Chapter IV.

GEORGIA IN THE NEW NATION, 1865-1909.

Federal Army in Control.

After the devastating experience of the last year of the war, with three-fourths of its wealth destroyed, its slaves made free, one-fourth of its railroads torn up and a debt of twenty million dollars pressing upon its impoverished and almost ruined people, the State of Georgia entered in 1865 upon the dark and distressing era of reconstruction.

Governor Brown had been arrested, although he had been given his parole, and had been taken to Washington City and put in prison. Complaining to the President of this treatment, he was set at liberty within a week. When he returned to Georgia he found the state under the control of the Federal army, with a Federal officer in charge of every city. Thereupon Governor Brown resigned his office, advising the people to make the best of the situation, to agree to the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution abolishing slavery, and to support the gen-

eral government in their plans to reconstruct the Southern states.

The Federal army was in undisputed control of the state for about two months, during which there was no governor or any semblance of executive authority. The generals in charge were exemplary officers, however, and did many acts of kindness. Soldiers returning to their homes and destitute people generally were fed from their commissaries. Horses and mules that had been surrendered by the Confederate authorities, and even stock that had been left in the state by the Federal army under General Sherman, were turned over to the farmers, who were in sore need of help for the plowing. The officers and soldiers of the Federal army were as considerate and generous as could be expected.

Provisional Government Convention.

In January, 1865, James Johnson, of Columbus, was appointed by President Andrew Johnson provisional governor of Georgia. It was the purpose of this provisional appointment to secure at once the necessary steps to reorganize the state on the terms demanded by Congress for the reëntry of the state into the Union. Accordingly, in July, Governor Johnson went to Milledgeville and assumed the duties of his office. He at once issued a proclamation calling for a state convention to meet in October. Every man who had been a Confederate soldier, or who had served in the war in any capacity, was required to take the oath of allegiance to the government before he could vote. Those who had held office before the war and afterwards served as Confederate soldiers were not allowed to vote. All who took no part in the war were allowed to vote. Many leading men were thus disqualified, but the great body of citizens voted.

The convention met in Milledgeville in October. The first thing done was to repeal the ordinance of secession. Then slavery was declared abolished in the state of Georgia, a new constitution of the state was adopted and the war debt was repudiated. It is to the credit of this convention, bare as it was of the leaders of the state, that it was very unwilling to refuse the payment of the war debt. Upon that issue there was grave dispute and a long hesitance, though it had been made a condition of reconstruction. Governor Johnson telegraphed the situation to the President of the United States. The answer came back that without the repudiation of the war debt Georgia would not be admitted to the Union. This settled the matter.

Before the convention adjourned it ordered an election for Governor and for members of the legislature and of Congress, to be held in November, 1865. At this election Charles J. Jenkins, of Richmond county was chosen governor without opposition. He was one of the remarkable men of that day. Born in South Carolina in 1805, he had moved to Georgia with his parents when he was eleven years old. He had graduated at the State University, was attorney-general of the state in 1831, and had been repeatedly in the legislature. He was the author of the famous "Georgia Platform" adopted by the Convention of 1850. He had declined to become a member of the cabinet of Millard Fillmore, and just before the war was appointed to the Supreme Court of the state. He was now called to the high duty of governor at a most trying epoch in the history of Georgia.

State Government Organized—Not Recognized by Congress.

In December, 1865, the legislature met according to law, and on the 14th Jenkins was inaugurated

governor, President Johnson having telegraphed his consent to this action. The Thirteenth amendment to the constitution was ratified. Alexander H. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson were elected United States senators.

It now appeared that the troubles of Georgia were at an end and that the storm-tossed and distressed state would find an anchor within the Union. Those hopes were dispelled by the unhappy dissensions between President Johnson and Congress. The President had followed the milder measures of Lincoln, and was pursuing the course of reconstruction outlined by his great predecessor. To him, as to Lincoln, the states had never been out of the Union, therefore they could not become territories. They were merely rebellious members. When the war closed the Union was still undivided, in his opinion, and the states constituting it were intact, therefore there was little to be done except to repeal the Ordinances of Secession and the country would go on as usual. Not so with Congress. The Southern states had rebelled, and they should be made to feel bitterness and humiliation for their conduct. Hence the conflict of the President and Congress, out of which grew the measures of reconstruction and the impeachment and trial of the President.

The state organization was recognized by the President, but Congress refused to seat the senators and representatives chosen, and the Federal army still held control of the state. This was the period when the "carpet baggers" made their appearance. They followed the Northern army into the South bent on deluding the negro, swindling him out of what little he had and, if possible, foisting themselves into office. They were mere adventurers who were repudiated in their own communities and came

South seeking new fields for the display of their cunning.

The Freedman's Bureau, a good thing in itself and authorized by Congress for the protection of the freed slaves, was the occasion of the carpet bagger invasion. The poor, deluded and bewildered negroes, wild in the ecstacy of their freedom and ignorant of the wiles of designing enemies in the guise of friends, fell an easy prey to their seductions. It was not hard to deceive them with the cry of "forty acres and a mule." They readily believed that they deserved a recompense, substantial and immediate, for the unpaid years of their slavery, and whatever they could find they had a right to appropriate.

Out of this condition grew the Ku Klux Klan, which was an organization demanded by the rude times to preserve order, intimidate the negroes and prevent the dissolution of the labor system upon which the regeneration of the South depended. Much has been written of the atrocities of this organization, but one need only consider the menace of several millions of negroes no longer compelled to labor, long unused to self-control, inflamed by ruthless men against their former masters, and muttering unheard of threats against those they once held in reverence, to realize that some preventive measures were imperative to protect a defenseless society against the incursions of that part of the negro population that had abandoned itself to its primitive barbarity. Happily the condition lasted but a few years. Error was committed on both sides, but out of a semi-lawless condition there soon arose an adjustment of relations that made for the peace and good will of both races.

When the Fourteenth amendment was proposed, the legislature of Georgia refused to ratify it. The

argument was that if the state was a territory it had no right to vote on it. If it was a state it was entitled to have its senators and representatives in Congress, to discuss a measure proposed for general adoption. This provoked another crisis with Congress. Ex-Governor Brown advised the people to accept the demands of Congress since, in the end, they would be compelled to do so. This advice cast him in the shadow of a great unpopularity, from which it took years for him to emerge. Governor Jenkins and Benjamin H. Hill threw their great weight against the measures of Congress, and advised the state to stand firm in its refusal.

Military Rule—Second Convention.

In March, 1867, the tide of events brought Georgia again under military control, with Alabama and Florida in the Third Military District, Gen. John Pope in command. An election for another constitutional convention took place in July. There were as many negroes as whites allowed in the registration lists, there being 95,973 negroes out of 192,235 registered voters. In the election for delegates, the best men of the state were passed by. Out of 166 delegates, thirty-three were negroes. In December, 1867, the convention met in Milledgeville, and remained in session over three months. A constitution was framed and ordered submitted to the people in April, and members of Congress were to be chosen.

At the same election the question of removal of the state capital was submitted. The growing city of Atlanta, that was rising rapidly from the ashes of war, clamored for the honor. It was the note of progress sounding in the state. Atlanta offered an executive mansion, a building for the legislature and a site for a new capitol.

When the convention adjourned it needed money to pay its expenses. A demand was made upon the treasurer for forty thousand dollars, which he refused to pay except upon a warrant from the governor. General Meade, the military officer in control of the state, wrote to Governor Jenkins and asked him for the warrant. This Jenkins refused to issue, whereupon he was removed from office by General Meade, and Gen. Thomas. H. Ruger, of the United States Army, was "detailed for duty" as governor of Georgia, and Capt. Chas. F. Rockwell as treasurer.

Governor Jenkins at once left the state, taking with him four hundred thousand dollars of money from the treasury and the great seal of the state. The money he deposited in a bank in New York City to the credit of the State of Georgia. The seal he carried with him to Nova Scotia, where he went with his family to reside. When he returned to Georgia, several years later, he returned the money and the seal, saying: "I derive great satisfaction from the reflection that it has never been desecrated by the grasp of a military usurper's hand." The legislature ordered a gold *facsimile* of the seal made and presented to him with the motto: "*In arduis fidelis.*"

State Government Again Reorganized.

Rufus B. Bullock, the Republican candidate, was elected governor, in 1868, over Gen. John B. Gordon. The constitution was ratified and Atlanta was selected as the state capital. Twenty-eight negroes were elected to the legislature, which met in July. This legislature, having ratified the Fourteenth amendment to the constitution and done everything else required by Congress, was allowed to inaugurate Bullock as governor of the state, and the military authorities withdrew in his favor.

Trouble With Congress—Georgia Finally Readmitted into the Union.

In September, however, the legislature expelled the negro members on the ground that they had no right to hold office under the existing constitution. Congress, in retaliation of this act and considering it a violation of their own reconstruction measures, promptly refused to seat the members from Georgia in that body. The Supreme Court held that negroes were entitled to hold office. Governor Bullock was directed to reconvene the legislature, including the expelled negroes, and require that body to ratify the Fifteenth amendment to the constitution, or else Georgia should not be represented in the national councils.

The legislature therefore met in January, 1870, and amid great excitement attempted to organize. Much noise and tumult prevailed and many efforts at adjournment were made. Finally both houses were organized, the negroes were allowed to keep their seats, and the Fifteenth amendment was ratified.

This turbulence attracted the attention of Congress, which passed an order directing the judiciary committee to look into the situation in Georgia, in order peaceably and promptly to reconstruct that state. Wise counsels prevailed at last. The committee reported the conduct of the convention and the legislature to be "improper, illegal and arbitrary proceedings." Congress ordered a new and fair election. Shortly afterward a bill was passed admitting Georgia to the Union. It was signed by President U. S. Grant in July, 1870. In January, 1871, the senators and members of Congress from Georgia were admitted to their seats in Congress. The work of reconstruction of the seceding states was at length complete. The union of states was

again established. Georgia was the last to be readmitted, and with her accession ended the trying era of reconstruction, that was so full of prejudice against the Southern states and of unhappiness for the people.

The era of peace begins with the resignation of Governor Bullock in October, 1871, and the assumption of his duties by Benjamin Conley, the president of the Senate. An election for governor was held in December, at which James M. Smith was elected without opposition.

The sudden and unexplained retirement of Governor Bullock led to an examination of his office by a committee of the legislature, who soon reported that bonds to the extent of several million dollars had been fraudulently issued during his administration. Those bonds were promptly declared void and have never been paid by the state. Charges were preferred against Governor Bullock and a warrant issued for his arrest. An officer sought for him in New York in vain. After a few years he submitted to arrest, was tried and acquitted on account of insufficient proof to convict.

Education.

The constitution of 1868 had directed the legislature to provide for a system of common schools for the state. An act for this purpose had been passed in 1872, and Governor Bullock had appointed Gen. J. R. Lewis as State School Commissioner. A new law was passed in 1872 perfecting the system, one-half the rental of the Western and Atlantic Railroad was added to the school fund, and Governor Smith appointed Gustavus J. Orr as State School Commissioner. From this beginning has grown, in successive years, a great school system, the bulwark and pride of the state.

A. H. COLQUITT

In addition to this educational movement, the North Georgia Agricultural College at Dahlonega was opened in January, 1873, as one of the branch colleges of the University. The old mint of the United States Government and ten acres of land had been donated for this educational purpose. This college is still one of several branch colleges that are lcoated in different parts of the state, the purpose of which is to supply an elementary collegiate instruction leading up to higher courses in the greater parent institution.

Furthermore, about the same time, the donation of certain public lands by Congress to the state and territories for the promotion of agricultural and mechanic arts, was engaging the attention of Georgia. The share allotted to this state was accepted by the legislature, and the interest arising from the sale of the lands was turned over to the trustees of the University to carry out the purposes of the act. This was the beginning in Georgia of the School of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, as a part of the University, and one of the many departments of that great system of higher education.

Thus it is clear that the thought of the state at the beginning of the new era was wisely placed in the education of its sons and daughters in schools of all degrees and kinds.

New Constitution.

Alfred H. Colquitt was elected governor in 1876 over Jonathan Norcross, the Republican candidate, by a majority of eighty thousand votes, the largest ever known in the state. In the same year the vote of Georgia was given overwhelmingly for Tilden and Hendricks, the Democratic candidates in the national election. Benjamin H. Hill, the great orator and statesman, was chosen United States senator for a term of six years.

A new constitution now engaged the thought of the people. The constitution of 1868 was considered a Republican measure and was not satisfactory. A convention to revise it was called by the legislature, which convention met in Atlanta in July, 1877. Several important changes were made in the constitution. The term of office of the governor was reduced from four years to two years. The system of appointing judges and solicitors of the superior court was changed from appointment by the governor to election by the legislature. This has subsequently been changed to election by the people. The sessions of the legislature were made biennial instead of annual, though this also was subsequently restored by amendment to an annual session limited to fifty days. The regulation of freight and passenger rates was put under control of the legislature. The payment of the fraudulent bonds was prohibited. A complete system of common schools was established, and other wise and important provisions were made for the public good.

This instrument is still known as the "Constitution of 1877," and with the amendments that have been made since its adoption by the people in December of that year, is the constitution under which the state affairs are now administered. So thoroughly were the finances of the state guarded by the constitution that Robert Toombs, one of the leading spirits of the convention, declared they "had locked the doors of the treasury and thrown away the key."

Legislative Investigations.

The spirit of investigation and reform which had seized upon the people manifested itself in the legislature of 1878. A demand was made for a sweeping inquiry into all the departments of the state government. Committees were appointed to examine the

offices of the secretary of state, comptroller-general, state school commissioner, public printer, and into the affairs of the penitentiary. All the committees reported favorably regarding their investigation, except those who investigated the comptroller-general and the treasurer. Here certain abuses were discovered which soon brought those two officers before the Senate on articles of impeachment presented by the House. The comptroller was charged with receiving and using money illegally, making false returns and altering the records of his office. He was convicted, removed from office, and disqualified from holding any public office during his life. The treasurer was acquitted of the charges brought against him.

Political Contests.

The most exciting political contest that had occurred up to this time was the memorable Colquitt-Norwood campaign of 1880. The nominating convention had sat in Atlanta for six hot and strenuous weeks, unable, by the rule requiring two-thirds majority, to agree upon a candidate. Ballot after ballot was taken, appeal after appeal was made for harmony. Alfred H. Colquitt had a majority, but not two-thirds of the delegates. His adherents remained steadfast. The minority was unshaken. After thirty ballots were taken and a nomination appeared hopeless, the convention appealed to the people and adjourned. The bare majority put Colquitt in the field. The minority put Thomas M. Norwood, of Savannah, in the field.

The contest that followed was memorable. Every act of Governor Colquitt's official life was discussed. He was assailed for appointing Joseph E. Brown to the United States Senate, which had been done upon the resignation of General Gordon in May. Brown was still unpopular for the attitude he had assumed

after the war, and for his prosecution of certain citizens of Columbus for the killing of a Republican. In the election in October, Governor Colquitt won by a large majority, and Brown was returned by the legislature as a member of the senate.

Growth and Progress.

The census of that year showed the population of the state to be 1,542,180, being an increase in ten years of over 350,000. Under this census Georgia was entitled to ten representatives in Congress. The governor's message showed the industries of the state to be in a satisfactory condition, the credit good, the public debt reduced, the tax on railroad property collected and several thousand dollars added to the state revenue.

To show the progress of the state, the year 1881 signalized the first of several great expositions that have been held in Georgia. The International Cotton Exposition opened its doors in Atlanta in October, and the world was invited in to see what the cotton states had done in the fifteen years since the war closed. All the states were represented in exhibits that covered twenty acres in beautiful houses designed for the purpose. It was a notable gathering of people from all parts of the country, to vie in the arts of peace and to exhibit the fraternal goodwill as well as the products of field and factory.

Benjamin H. Hill, the senior senator from Georgia whose eloquent voice had so long charmed and convinced his hearers, passed off the stage of life in August, 1882. He was buried with distinguished honors and mourned by the people as one of their most distinguished statesmen. In October, 1882, Alexander H. Stephens, now past seventy years of age, was called to the position of governor. His life had been active in the discharge of high

political duties. He was one of the great men in the crucial era of war. He had long battled against bodily infirmity, and finally succumbed to advancing years and enfeebled strength. He died in office March 4, 1883. At his death James S. Boynton, president of the Senate, became governor until the election was held, which resulted in the choice of Henry D. McDaniel.

The state now rises to the question of a new capitol building. In 1883 a million dollars was appropriated for the purpose, and a site was chosen upon an elevated place in the capital city. The material of the building was limestone, with Georgia granite for the foundation and marble for the interior. It was not completed until 1889, but when turned over to the state there were a few dollars of the original appropriation still unexpended. It is said to be one of the few capitol buildings in the world whose cost did not exceed the original amount set aside for its construction.

In 1885 the legislature passed an act establishing the Georgia School of Technology as a branch of the University. The sum of $65,000 was appropriated for building and equipping the school. This splendid institution, which is located in Atlanta, has steadily grown under increased appropriations and an energetic administration, until it has acquired a national reputation for excellence. Many hundreds of the young men of the state acquire technical knowledge of the industries, and, fully prepared for great things, enter upon the noble task of building up a wealthy and prosperous state.

General Gordon's Administration.

In October, 1886, the beloved soldier, Gen. John B. Gordon, was chosen to be governor of the state. His military record in the war which was so splen-

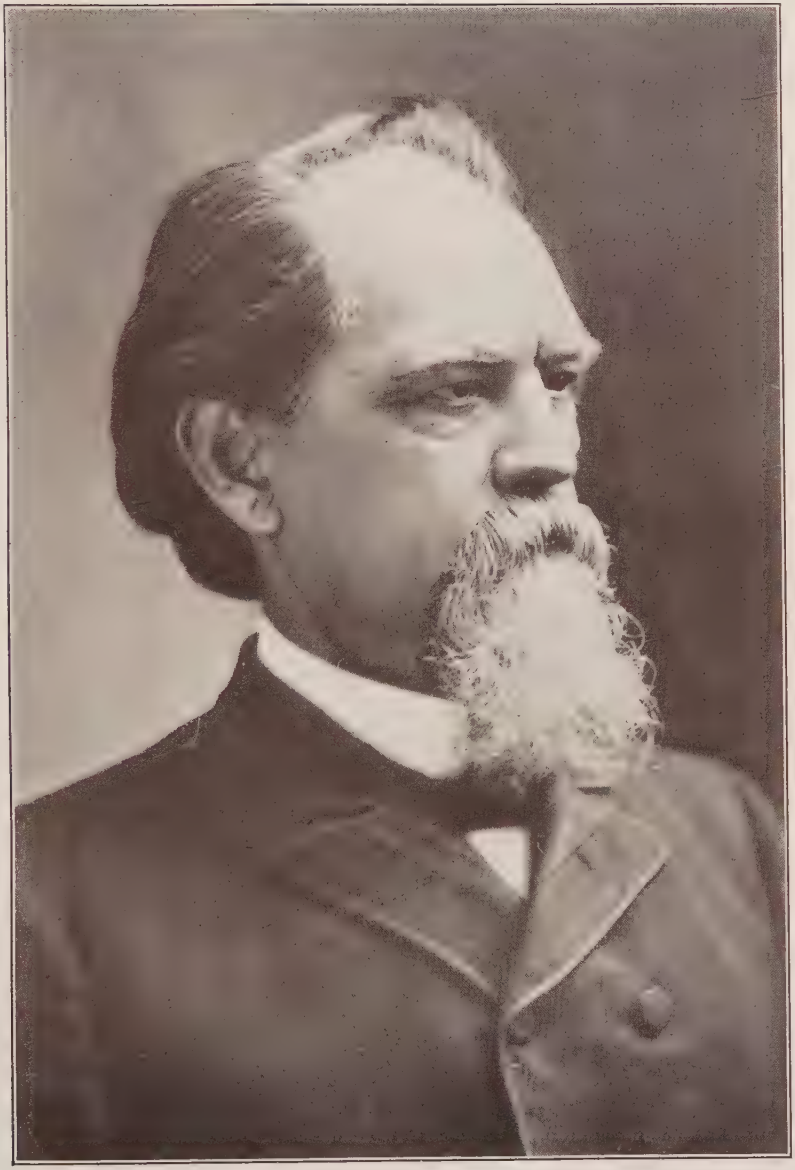
did that few soldiers surpassed him, his statesman-like conduct in the Senate of the United States, his gallantry and high character, endeared him to the people. As long as he lived he was the idol of the old soldiers and the beloved hero of the war. After his death a bronze monument upon the capitol grounds in Atlanta attested the affectionate regard of the people he had served in war and in peace.

At the same election an amendment to the constitution was ratified by the people, giving the legislature power to levy a tax for supplying artificial limbs to disabled Confederate soldiers, and in other ways provide for the destitute heroes who had served their state in the war. From time to time pensions have been allowed, homes for the old and infirm soldiers have been provided until the state is properly caring for the aged servants who hazarded all and lost much in her service.

Among the young men who had arisen to high esteem in the regard of the state was Henry W. Grady, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. He was a brilliant writer and orator, and had made several notable speeches of great eloquence and power. His famous speech at the banquet of the New England Club in New York in 1886 had raised him to national prominence as an earnest, eloquent and brilliant advocate of progress and peace. His sad death in 1889 was the occasion of universal grief. Memorial meetings were held in many places, a statue was erected to his honor, and a hospital in Atlanta bears his name.

Governor Northen's Administration.

In 1890 William J. Northen, the president of the State Agricultural Society, was nominated for governor, and being endorsed by the Farmers' Alliance was elected without opposition. Governor Northen was in no sense the candidate of the Alliance, but his



JOHN B. GORDON.

deep interest in things agricultural, and especially his interest in the educational affairs of the state, endeared him to the great and powerful population of the rural districts. The Alliance had become a great organization, whose purpose was to secure better laws for the protection of the farming interests. It had its day, served its time of usefulness, and has given way to other organizations.

The disposition of the Western and Atlantic Railroad was among the first cares of Governor Northen. This splendid property had been built by the state from Atlanta to Chattanooga, and was a source of considerable revenue to the state. It had already been leased for a term of twenty years, which lease expired in 1890. The legislature decided to renew the lease, and in June of that year the bid of the Nashville Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway was accepted for a lease of the road for twenty-nine years for $35,000 a month.

The question of education constantly recurred to the attention of the legislature. As the public school system grew it became necessary to establish schools for the training of teachers. The thought of the people drew more and more toward the training of the youth. In 1889 the legislature had passed an act providing for the establishment of a Normal and Industrial College for Girls, to be located at Milledgeville. Its course of instruction included not only a normal training for teachers, but also stenography, bookkeeping, telegraphy, dressmaking, cooking, music and art. In 1891 the legislature decided to establish a school in Athens exclusively designed for teachers. It is located in the building known as Rock College, and on the site of the once experimental station in agriculture. These two great schools annually enroll five hundred students each, and neither can keep pace with the great demand

for attendance made upon it. Both have added strength and dignity to the industries and to the profession of teaching, and are a power for good in the welfare of the state.

The rise of the People's party, or the Populist party, in Georgia is one of the political facts of great significance. The leaders of the Farmers' Alliance organized this new party in Georgia, though the party had assumed proportions outside of the state and at one time grew into national significance. The great leader of the party in Georgia was, and still is, Thomas E. Watson, of Thomson, an able lawyer, an orator of rare persuasiveness and a man of great earnestness and personal attraction. He had been a member of the legislature, a Congressman, and in 1896 became the candidate for vice-president of the United States on the People's Party ticket. In 1908 he was candidate for President on the same ticket.

For a number of years the People's party grew in strength. Watson made a memorable race for Congress in the Tenth Congressional District in 1895, but was defeated by J. C. C. Black. Candidates for governor were put out, but in no instance was the party signally successful. Of late years this party and the Democratic party have been more in accord and much of the sharpness of strife and division has been abandoned in the state elections.

The state has been Democratic in its electoral vote for the high offices of the general government. In 1892 Grover Cleveland was the choice of Georgia, and in making up his cabinet chose Hoke Smith, of Atlanta, a prominent lawyer and statesman of rare ability, to be the Secretary of the Interior. This position was held by Smith for a number of years, when, failing in agreement with the financial poli-

cies of his chief, he resigned to resume the practice of law.

Governor Atkinson's Administration.

In 1894 an exciting contest for the Democratic nomination for governor occurred. There were two candidates in the field: W. Y. Atkinson and Gen. Clement A. Evans. A series of joint debates and a vigorous campaign of a few months followed, when it became evident that a majority of the delegates elected were for Atkinson. General Evans wrote a card withdrawing in the interest of party harmony, and Atkinson was nominated without opposition.

It was during his term of office that the International and Cotton States Exposition was held in Atlanta, where all the industries and resources of the South were represented. It was one of the greatest fairs our country has ever had. Every state in the Union sent its exhibits, and even foreign countries were represented. The visitors numbered thousands daily, who came to rejoice that the war-wasted lands of Georgia and the South were again blooming with prosperity.

The war with Spain in 1898 was the occasion of a prompt and patriotic response on the part of Georgia to the demands of the general government that peace be established on the island of Cuba. The sympathy of the entire country was on the side of the distressed and abused citizens of that unhappy island. There was bitter feeling against the Spaniards, and the safety of American citizens in Cuba was endangered.

The wreck of the *Maine,* the excitement created by the uncertainty of the cause of the event, the demands of Congress that Cuba should be freed from Spanish rule and the call of the President for volunteers to enforce this demand, found Georgia liberally disposed to act with all other states in this crisis

in the West Indies. The call for three thousand soldiers made upon Georgia was promptly met. Three regiments were organized and placed at the disposal of the general government.

Among the major-generals appointed by President McKinley was Joseph Wheeler, a Georgian by birth, who had served with distinction as a cavalry leader in the Confederate army. Among the brigadier-generals was W. W. Gordon, of Savannah, who, after the war, was on the commission to arrange for the evacuation of the island of Porto Rico. Thomas M. Brumby, of Georgia, served on the *Olympia,* as lieutenant, under Admiral Dewey in the Philippines. Brumby was sent to raise the American flag over the city of Manila upon the occasion of the surrender of that city.

During the war a number of camps were located in Georgia, being in easy distance for transportation in case of need. There were camps at Chickamauga Park, Macon, Athens, Augusta and Columbus. President McKinley visited these camps, and was enthusiastically received by the people. His noble character, pure life and patriotic feelings made him admired and beloved by the whole nation. When his life was ended by an assassin shortly after the Spanish war, there were no people that mourned more sincerely for his untimely and unfortunate death than the people of Georgia.

The disposition of penal convicts has always been a perplexing problem with any state. In 1897 the legislature passed an excellent law, creating a Prison Commission, who should have charge of all convicts. Provision was made whereby male and female convicts should be kept apart. Children under fifteen years should be given the education of a reformatory school, men disabled should not be hired out and white and colored convicts should not

work together. A state farm was located near Milledgeville, on which many convicts were employed as laborers. The Prison Commission is also a Board of Pardons, before which come all applications for executive clemency. The board patiently hears all cases and makes proper recommendations to the governor, who alone has the power to pardon.

This disposition of convicts was reënacted with some change in 1900. Under the improved system the labor of felony convicts not sent to the farm is disposed of by contract to do work that does not compete with skilled labor.* The state keeps a close supervision of all convicts and hires out only their labor. It retains all guards, wardens, physicians, chaplains, in its employ. It regulates the kind of work, the hours of labor and rest, the kind, quantity and quality of food, and the character of the shelter that is supplied to convicts. The male felony convicts who are sentenced to five years or less service are subject to the demand of the counties for work to be done upon the public roads.

By those regulations it is believed that the unnecessary hardship of a convict's life is avoided, that his health and morals are protected and that his servitude, while severe as it should be to become a punishment for and deterrent to crime, is not attended with cruelty and mistreatment.

Governor Candler's Administration.

Allen D. Candler became governor in 1898. His administration was signalized by the jubilee in Atlanta over the victory of the American armies in the war with Spain. President McKinley was present, paying a tender tribute to the valor of Southern

* By act of the legislature of 1908 the hiring of convicts was abolished. Work on country roads was substituted for the lease system.

leaders and soldiers both in the war between the states and the war with Spain.

Under this administration the University at Athens received new buildings, the capacity of the schools for the deaf, dumb and blind, and the state institution for the insane was enlarged, and the fund for the support of the common schools was increased.

It is indeed notable that all the state institutions had become firmly fixed in the affections of the people by this time. The University of Georgia, an ancient and honorable school of a hundred years' history, was beginning to receive the attention it deserved. New buildings were being added, an enlarged campus with great possibilities for the future was laid out and new departments added. With the election of Walter B. Hill as chancellor, the University took on new life and vigor. After his death David C. Barrow took up the work of his beloved predecessor, until at the present day the prospects of this great institution, under the help of its many generous friends and alumni, are bright with glorious promises for the good of the young men of the state.

The other institutions allied to the University are receiving the popular support as well. The School of Technology in Atlanta, offering many courses in industry, has no superior in the Southern states. The Girls' Industrial College at Milledgeville, the State Normal School at Athens, the Industrial School for Negro children in Savannah, the many branch colleges and the Agricultural colleges, one for each Congressional district, betoken the interest taken by the people in higher classical, as well as in industrial, education.

The common school system, though young in years, shows an amazing growth. From the simplest be-

ginning, it has reached the proportions of about ten thousand teachers and over a half million of children. The expenditures for common school education are considerably over two million dollars a year, and while this is by far an insufficient sum, yet it maintains in the rural districts a five months' school annually for every child who will attend. In 1903 the legislature passed an act requiring uniform textbooks to be used in all the public schools of the state. This is the practice in one-half of the states of the Union, and when wisely and honestly selected by skilled educators, is a means of securing the latest and best school books at a considerably reduced price.

Governor Terrell's Administration.

In 1902 Joseph M. Terrell succeeded Governor Candler. The four years of his administration were times of peace and general prosperity. At the close of his second term of office, a spirited contest for the Democratic nomination for governor occurred between Hoke Smith and Clark Howell. They were both of Atlanta, of rival daily papers, of influence and prominence in the politics of the state. The campaign resulted in the choice of Hoke Smith, who was duly inaugurated in June, 1907.

Governor Smith's Administration.

The administration of Governor Smith was for two years only. During the first part of his administration he removed Joseph M. Brown from office as member of the Railroad Commission, which was the occasion of much comment and division of opinion. The legislature of 1907 passed a prohibition law excluding, by severe legislation, the sale or manufacture of any kind of alcoholic liquors in the boundary of the state. At the same time a panic

of unparalleled extent swept over the country, making money scarce, lowering the price of stocks and bonds, and affecting the operations of many banks. The year was filled with alarm and apprehension. Railroad legislation was proposed that threatened the revenues of the great corporations.

When the time for nominating a successor to Governor Smith arrived, Joseph M. Brown was in the field. He was the son of the war governor of Georgia, Joseph E. Brown, but up to this time had taken no active part in the politics of the state. The campaign was a sharp one, and the people were divided on the state issues. At the primary election in June, 1908, Governor Smith was defeated for nomination and the race for governor left in the hands of Joseph M. Brown, who was elected October 7.

Conclusion.

This brings the history of the great state of Georgia down to the present day. The little colony planted at Yamacraw in 1733 has grown in a century and three-quarters to be the Empire State of the South, with over two million inhabitants living happily and prosperously on farms, in villages, towns and cities. The area of the state is 59,000 square miles, or 37,760,000 acres. It was the largest of the original thirteen states, at that time including the present states of Alabama and Mississippi. It now ranks ninth in size.

The surface of the state is divided into three zones. North Georgia is mountainous, with a few peaks nearly 5,000 feet high, Middle Georgia is hilly in places with much level land, South Georgia is a level area covered with great pine forests and rich alluvial soil, the congenial home of the Georgia peach which has grown into an industry threatening to rival cotton in its value. The state is well drained

by over fifty streams large enough to be classed as rivers, and affording enough water power, in Middle Georgia particularly, to grind all the grain and manufacture all the cotton goods in the world. The state is thus blessed with a diversity of soil, a variety of climate, an abundance of water power and an enterprising population that guarantees great growth and progress in the future.

There is nothing grown in any state, Florida excepted, which cannot be raised in Georgia. Cotton is still the great agricultural product. Before the war the state produced one-sixth of the cotton crop of the country. At the present day the state raises about one million bales of cotton valued at nearly $50,000,000. The special variety known as sea island or long staple cotton grows along the coast, and on account of its fine quality commands a special price.

Fruits of all kinds known in the temperate zone are grown in Georgia. The Georgia watermelon has become famous for its kind and quality. The Elberta peach grows to greatest perfection upon Georgia soil. The Le Conte pear had its origin in South Georgia. In vegetables, berries, and indeed all sorts of farm and garden products, the state offers a most alluring prospect to the homeseeker, where land is cheap, soil is fertile and climate is inviting.

The state is rich in wood, of which two hundred and thirty varieties are recognized in its forests. The vast pine forests on the southern area make the finest ship timber in the world, besides affording a great turpentine industry. Georgia pine is recognized as among the most beautiful and artistic of finishing woods for interior decoration. The swamps afford cypress for shingles, the uplands yield hickory, oak, maple and other valuable woods.

The gold producing area is in North Georgia, where, before the days of California mining, the

placers were worked with great profit. Along the Tennessee border there are beds of iron ore that are worked with profit to the owners. Stone mountain in DeKalb county is the largest single mass of rock in the world. The marble quarries of North Georgia are delivering a quality of marble that already has passed into national favor. Georgia stands next to Vermont as a marble state.

The manufacture of cotton goods has increased enormously of late. There are many factories in many places, utilizing about one-fifth of the cotton yield of the state. Commerce has kept pace with industry, favored by the extensive railroad system and the many navigable streams. There are over forty railroad companies with 5,000 miles of road, with a value of over $60,000,000. The vast traffic of the west comes through the state on its way to the harbors, where hundreds of vessels are engaged in the coast and foreign trade.

Along with other Southern states, Georgia has recovered from the devastation of war. Her people have laid aside all bitterness of the struggle and are engaged in the friendly rivalry for industrial and commercial supremacy. Her towns are increasing in number and growing in size, new avenues are opened annually for an enlarged and diversified agricultural product, factories, foundries, canneries and other forms of industry are springing up, and the people are steadily determined to build again a new condition of prosperity, greater and nobler than that cherished in the ancient traditions of their fathers.

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Lawton B. Evans,

Superintendent of Schools, Augusta, Ga.

THE HISTORY OF ALABAMA.

Chapter I.

COLONIAL AND TERRITORIAL ALABAMA, 1540-1819.

The Alabama-Tombigbee Basin and Its People.

THE division of territory embraced within the state of Alabama has had a long and eventful history, but not under the modern name. It has been subject to five flags, besides the Indian occupation, and during each period has been connected with other districts and enjoyed a different name. There is no doubt, however, as to the unity of the river basin which makes up the main part of the modern state. The sources of the Coosa lie in Georgia and those of the Tombigbee in Mississippi, and the great bend of the Tennessee has been added on the north for good measure; but the Alabama-Tombigbee basin, nevertheless, makes up a unit, economic as well as historic.

Alabama a Geographical Unit.

If one will take a map of America he will find that, although the Mississippi receives many large tributaries on the west from its source to its mouth, there are none of any volume on the east side below the Ohio. The great Apalachian mountain system comes to an end before it reaches the Mexican Gulf or the Mississippi, but its foothills and highlands

throw all streams southward instead of permitting them to reach the Mississippi River. It does more, for, while there are a number of rivers flowing to the Gulf, the watershed and hill country are so pronounced as to make in the Alabama-Tombigbee drainage system a basin greater and of more diversified interests than any other east of the Mississippi. Geographically speaking, there would be room for three Gulf commonwealths between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, and for only three, excluding the Florida peninsula, which is *sui generis*. The rivers draining to the Atlantic must cause the population of that district to have their interest centred on the ocean, while those near the Mississippi would look, in their turn, to the west. Intermediate between the two there should be a state looking to the Gulf at the mouth of Mobile River. And such has been the course of events.

The physical basis of history includes as its main factors climate, soil and rivers. In this instance the climate is mild, permitting of ice, but with summer weather prevailing over half the year. Geologically the soil shows several belts. One runs in a limestone crescent, beginning near the Ohio mouth and ending near the Atlantic, cutting across the Gulf-bound rivers. This is the fertile Black Belt, producing cereals, especially maize, and nut-bearing trees, although wheat and cotton were not native. Northward was the rough country between the Gulf rivers and the Tennessee Valley, abounding in minerals, but not of much importance in early days. Southward of the Black Belt was the low Coastal Plain, made up largely of sand, and covered with pine forests. The river basins were alluvial and their vegetation luxuriant. Large game, such as deer, bear and, in early times buffalo, abounded, birds were numerous, the beaver plentiful, and fresh and

salt water fish to a large extent determined the course of migration and settlement.

The Indians.

The Indians built their habitations mainly upon the bluffs of the rivers, where water and fish were abundant and near which the maize grew with little cultivation. The origin of the Indians is still unsettled. Those of the Alabama-Tombigbee basin were mainly of three stocks. To the west were the Choctaws, and north of them on the sources of the Tombigbee lived the Chickasaws. These two tribes were of the Muscogean race, as was the other great division which now concern us, the Muscogees proper, on the Alabama River and its sources.

There is some reason to think that the Indians of historic times were preceded by other of a higher state of culture. Not that remains are extensive enough to justify any theory of Mound Builders, or that some works found on the Gulf necessarily call for an Aztec origin, but up on the Black Warrior River, at what has been called Moundville, have been found evidences of a civilization superior to that anywhere else near the Gulf. There are numerous large mounds, and from them has been taken pottery of a high grade, many rare stone implements, and in particular a bowl or vase representing a bird so well executed as to earn the title of the Portland Vase of American archæology.

The Indians were in the stage of culture known as barbarism, claiming descent through the mother, and having a gens ("iksa"), phratry and tribe organization well developed. They were in the transition from the hunting to the agricultural state, but were prevented by the absence of cattle from developing the intermediate pastoral condition, which elsewhere has been almost essential in the advance

to civilization. They used pottery but not iron. Like all primitive peoples, religion entered into almost every act of their life. Animism—the belief that every object has life, a faith marked by the use of totems—prevailed, rather than the monotheism often attributed to them. War and hunting were the principal occupations of the men, while the women were the agriculturists. They had not developed an alphabet, and their traditions, which were many and full of interest, were transmitted with the aid of wampum belts from generation to generation.

What would be the effect on these natives of the advent in their country of races further advanced in culture? Would the contact be as a spark to inspire or a fire to consume?

The Spanish Explorers.

With the capture of Granada from the Moors, Spain was redeemed and at last the Genoese Columbus succeeded in interesting Queen Isabella in his plan of finding the East by sailing to the West.

He reached some islands, and they were named for the Indies it was thought he had discovered. In point of fact a new world stood in his way, and exploration by Columbus to the south and others to the west gradually revealed its outlines. He made a settlement in Hispaniola, which remained for some time the Spanish base. From there Cuba was colonized, Mexico conquered by the filibuster-statesman Cortez, Central America explored and Peru seized by the coarse Pizarros.

Exploration to the north came later. Ayllon found that Florida was no island and that the Atlantic coast had many inhabitants, deep rivers and fertile lands. The governor of Jamaica sent Pineda in 1519 to explore westward of the peninsula, and he discovered numerous islands, bays and rivers, which

he, in true Spanish manner, named for saints or divine attributes, according to the day upon which they were seen. The greatest bay and river were, therefore, called Espiritu Santo—the Holy Spirit. This is found upon numerous Spanish charts besides that sent home by Pineda, but its location has never been definitely settled. The maps show it as a large bay with one and sometimes two rivers emptying into it, and generally with an offset to the east. A number of inlets would possibly suit, but most of the bays of the north Gulf coast are too shallow for the prominence given it, and the Espiritu Santo was probably Mobile Bay.

The first land explorer was Narvaez, who, in 1528, led an expedition from Tampa northwardly, which suffered so as to be compelled to seek to the sea again among the Apalaches. The Spaniards touched at many places, probably Dauphine Island amongst them, and, after losing their leader and many men in storms, were driven westwardly to Texas.

De Soto had acquired fame and wealth in the conquest of Peru, and, after securing the appointment of governor of Cuba and adelantado of Florida, began, near Tampa, the exploration of his new possessions. Like Narvaez, he first reached Apalache, but thence struck northeastwardly. The Spaniards desired gold and De Soto sought to rival the exploits of his comrades in Peru, so that from the Savannah he turned northward towards the mountains of which he heard. He there came in contact with the Chalaques—the Cherokees of a later day—and coasted along the southern line of their mountains, seeking Cosa, of which all Indians in the southeast had spoken.

In the summer of 1540 he crossed the watershed between the ocean and the Gulf and struck the sources of a river flowing to the southwest. Accord-

ing to his chronicler Biedma, this was known as the Espiritu Santo, which emptied into the Bay of Chuse, but his route has been variously placed. There were a number of towns in the Cosa country, some on islands in the river, others inland, probably on the watershed between the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. It was a different land, a different race of Indians from those they had heretofore met. Oaks, walnuts and maize abounded, the towns were palisaded and the tribes stood in closer relations. They were in the Muscogee country. The Spaniards rested over a month, but found little trace of gold.

De Soto proceeded southwestwardly through the river basin and entered the domains of Tascalusa, where, after crossing a large stream, doubtless the Alabama, he came to Mauvila, a palisaded town containing large houses. Here in October, 1541, occurred possibly the most sanguinary battle in Indian warfare. It is true De Soto was victorious on account of his firearms and armor, but he lost many men and horses, pearls and stores, including flour for the mass and much of the swine brought from Spain. It was necessary to remain some time in order to recuperate.

The men were in favor of descending to the Bay of Chuse, forty leagues away, to meet the fleet of Maldonado, which De Soto had directed to repair thither; but the adelantado had nothing to take back to Cuba, and, therefore, resolved on proceeding further. So northwestwardly they took their course, and reaching a large river at Zabusta built a barge. There, possibly at the place now called Erie, they crossed the Black Warrior in the face of the Choctaws.

There were no draft animals in America, and this explains why De Soto so often pressed the natives into service as burden bearers—a usage common

enough in South America. Not only this, but De Soto would keep a chief captive until he reached another district. These two practices, together with unnecessary cruelty, brought about many misfortunes, and none greater than he encountered when he crossed what we call the Tombigbee. He had several battles with the Chickasaws, and afterwards worked his way to the Mississippi and beyond. The next year he died. He was buried in the Great River, down which those of his followers who survived made their way and finally reached Mexico.

Not only was no gold discovered, but little was added to knowledge, for the Spaniards followed native paths, and De Soto's four chroniclers throw but dim light upon the country and its inhabitants.

Nevertheless, a recollection was preserved of the pleasant land of Cosa, and in 1558 Velasco, governor of New Spain, sent out an expedition to explore with a view to colonization. His commander, Bazares, describes the coast, where Bas Fonde and Filipina Bays seem to correspond to Biloxi and Mobile. The next year Velasco sent a colony under Tristan De Luna, which occupied the mainland of Florida at Ychuse. The fleet was lost in a storm and the colonists had to remain whether or no. De Luna sent out men who explored the country northwardly, coming first to Nanipacna. There they seem to have crossed De Soto's path, for the country had been desolated by white men, and the name recalls Talipacana near Maubila. The expedition pressed on and reached Cosa, where they were received kindly and won the goodwill of the natives by helping them in war. They finally returned to the colony on the coast, where there was much dissension between De Luna and his second in command, much dissatisfaction and suffering on the part of the peo-

ple. In 1561 the colonists took advantage of the call of a fleet and abandoned the country.

Colonization of the Gulf coast seemed to Spain of less importance than that of the Atlantic side of Florida, where St. Augustine was soon founded to protect the Bahama channel and the passage of the plate fleets. One of the places occupied was Santa Elena, in what is now South Carolina, whence Juan Pardo, in 1566, undertook exploring expeditions as far west as Cosa and Trascaluza. He must have followed to some extent the Indian trails used by De Soto, and he reported that he was within a few days of New Spain, but he did not reach the Mississippi. He founded several posts, to which may be due the evidences of mining which were afterwards found in the mountains of Georgia and Carolina.

In the next century the Spaniards were not only able to claim Florida as extending from the Chesapeake to Mexico, but several provinces were mapped from Pansacola and Apalache on the Gulf around to Chicora on the Atlantic. Spanish influence was greater than has generally been believed, and the work of the Franciscans and Dominicans, especially among the Apalaches, left valuable results.

With the Spaniards begins American literature. Biedma was a soldier accompanying De Soto, Ranjel the adelandato's private secretary, and the Gentleman of Elvas was a Portuguese adventurer—all witnesses of the scenes they record. The more stilted Garcilasso, on the other hand, was a Peruvian who obtained his material later from soldiers, and did not write on our soil. The report of Pineda was earlier, but official rather than literary, and this may also be said of Tristan De Luna and of Pardo.

Not only Spanish thought, but Spanish power dominated America. Charles V. was unable to accomplish in Europe his desire to restore to his Ro-

man Empire the whole coast of the Mediterranean, but this ambition was realized around the American Mediterranean. The new provinces of Spain extended from the Chesapeake Bay to Venezuela.

French Colonization.

It was a great ambition to hold the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but it required a great country to carry it out. And Spain did not remain what she had been. In the Seventeenth century her place was taken on land by France and on the sea by England. From political and economic causes Spain declined, and the great duel with the Saxon was left to the Frenchman. The French had settled Canada while the English were colonizing Virginia, Massachusetts and the Carolinas, and the Canadian La Salle, in 1682, took possession of the Mississippi Valley and named it Louisiana for the King of France.

It required much diplomacy to satisfy Spain with this severance of Florida from Mexico, but at last it was submitted to. She had not used the river systems, for the land east of Mexico was valuable to her only to guard the ocean approaches to her treasures. The Frenchman, on the other hand, while desiring mines, was to exploit the Indians as he had done in Canada, and thus the river basins were of paramount value to him.

Iberville discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, but found, on account of its swift current and the nature of the adjacent soil, that it was expedient to establish his colony further to the east. This was effected in 1699 temporarily at Biloxi, and then permanently at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff on Mobile River. The Spaniards had fortified the mouth of the Pensacola Bay a few months previously, but there they found a harbor only, while the French, by

means of the widely extended Alabama-Tombigbee basin, came in immediate touch with the great Choctaw, Chickasaw and Alabama tribes of the vast interior. Moreover, they gained portages over to the Tennessee River, whose upper reaches brought them to the Cherokees of the Apalachian range, who, in turn, looked down upon the waters draining to the English colonies on the Atlantic. The Mississippi River was to be important as a means of communication with Canada, but the first real colonization was on the Mobile, and thence began the sphere of influence among the Indians.

The French had already, at Quebec and Montreal, entered upon the experiment of town-making, and now took up the same task in the South. In Canada they sought to translate to America the mediæval walled city, but at Mobile, on its first site and also on the second made necessary by an overflow in 1710, they established a commercial town which should owe its protection to the cannon of a regular fortress. A port, called for the Dauphin, was found and utilized at the east end of Dauphine Island, but the main settlement was at the head of the Bay. Thence expeditions, for trade or for war, came and went between the French and the Indians upon the double river system, and thence naval stores, timber, and especially skins and furs were taken to France to exchange for the manufactures of that day.

Louis XIV. found it necessary, on account of the war with England in which Marlborough and Prince Eugene worsted him, to commit the new colony, including Mobile and other posts, to the merchant Crozat in 1712, although he still retained control of the military. Bienville had been the governor after Iberville's death, and now Cadillac, who had founded Detroit, was placed in control. The experiment, however, was not a success for the merchant, and

he was glad enough when, in 1718, the more enterprising John Law took it off his hands and those of the king for the Company of the West.

Law's Company was to do great things for Louisiana, but relatively less for the settlements on Mobile waters. A storm in 1717 shoaled up the entrance to Port Dauphin, and the channel over by Mobile Point had not yet deepened. The Mississippi became the great attraction, painted in golden colors in the broadsides of that day, and so the capital was removed to the west. The Alabama-Tombigbee basin became what the French would nowadays call a Department, supreme in Indian affairs, to be sure, but in civil administration second to the lately founded New Orleans. Bienville had, in 1714, built Fort Toulouse up between the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers in order to influence the Alibamons and check the English of Carolina, and during the first Chickasaw war in 1736, when he was again governor, erected Fort Tombecbé on the Tombigbee above the Black Warrior to dominate the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

The history of the river basin is almost that of the city at its mouth, for such posts as Toulouse and Tombecbé were little more than forts and town life centred on the bay. No plan has been preserved of Mobile on its first site, but as it was merely removed there is every reason to suppose that the "Plan de la Ville et Fort Louis de la Louisiane" made by Sr. Cheuillot in 1711 shows not only the new town but substantially the arrangement of the old town also. The site selected was where the river makes a slight bend to the southwest, a fact subsequently of importance in the growth of the city; but at the beginning the streets were run parallel and perpendicular to the river. These streets were thirty toises wide—each toise being six feet—and the blocks averaged fifty toises square.

The fort, with its esplanade and shade trees, was the principal feature of the town. At first it was, like most of the houses, of cedar, but in 1717 was renamed Fort Condé and reconstructed of brick made in the vicinity. In the fort was the house of the governor, together with the magazine, bell tower and other necessary structures.

A peculiarity of the French colonies was that the people had little to do for themselves. The government provided all the necessaries, and shops were almost unknown. Gardeners and hunters could dispose of their wares, but anyone wishing to purchase cloth or other manufactures bought them of the company or royal magazine. The king or the company thought for everyone. Even Paris fashions prevailed, for everything came from France.

The government did not give patents, but assigned lands and recognized the transfers thereafter. Town lots were twelve and a half by twenty-five toises, and thus admitted of house and garden. There were a number of more formal land grants in the vicinity, such as the St. Louis Tract, between Bayou Chateaugué (Three Mile Creek) and St. Louis River (Chickasabogue), and at the mouth of the bay Mon Louis Island, belonging to the Durands. In the distressing years which closed the French administration the population decreased, and Madame De Lusser, perhaps in lieu of a pension for her husband killed in the Chickasaw war, was granted a tract of land immediately south of the fort and running a mile westward. Bienville on the highland facing the bay had a "maison avec jardin," and near by the Mandeville Tract commemorates one of the most distinguished officers.

Priests ministered in their sacred vocation, and missionaries were found not only among the Tensas and Apalaches, whom Bienville had settled near,

but also far up the rivers among the native tribes. Even literature began, for there is no more charming writer than Penicaut, who describes the country and gives its history, and later Bossu writes of Toulouse and Tombecbé, as well as of the quarrels of the officers and the maladministration in which Louisiana began to resemble the parent France. For law they had the Coutume de Paris, quaint and ill-suited, one would think, in its Middle Age provisions, and indeed it took not the firm hold it acquired in Canada.

The last campaigns of Louis XIV. had resulted unfortunately, and they were not in this to stand alone. The Regent, the friend of John Law, kept the peace, but Louis XV. was drawn into the wars which made Frederick famous. In America the English, by their traders, succeeded in influencing the Cherokees and Chickasaws, and, reversing Bienville's ambition, in a measure hemmed the French colonies between the Apalachians and the Gulf. They even built a fort on the Tallapoosa which threatened Toulouse and caused a civil war among the Choctaws.

The Seven Years' War of Europe was reflected in the British blockade of the Gulf ports, but the fall of Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, and of Quebec and Montreal in Canada, wrought the ruin of Louisiana. The French King ceded the territory west of the Mississippi, together with New Orleans, to the King of Spain, and all of the first settlements, Mobile and its river basin, to Great Britain. The Peace of Paris of 1763 marked the withdrawal of the French flag from the whole of North America.

British West Florida.

The British flag now waved from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River. There was a possi-

bility that, like Spain, England had grasped more than she could hold. Two things, however, must be remembered. In the first place the English were increasing in numbers, and in the second the change of occupations due to the industrial revolution at home was driving many to the new colonies, where the ingrained Anglo-Saxon love and knack of local self-government promised a firm foundation for future commonwealths.

The coast territory was divided into East and West Florida, of which the Chattahoochee or Apalachicola was the boundary, while the interior above the line of 31° was reserved as hunting grounds for the red subjects of the king. Although Mobile was the larger, the British, for naval reasons, chose as their capital Pensacola, located on a smaller bay but nearer the Gulf.

The Indian policy was different. The Anglo-Saxon seems to have a greater repugnance than the Latin to intermarriage with darker races, and consequently the British introduced the plan, already adopted on the Atlantic, of buying lands from the Indians for the settlement of white colonists. This was effected by a series of treaties, and in 1765 the vicinity of Mobile and a strip reaching far up the west bank of the Tombigbee was secured. Indeed, to embrace this and similar settlements on the Mississippi the colonial boundary was moved northward to pass through the mouth of the Yazoo.

The Indian trade was systematized, prices fixed, traders licensed, and all placed under the supervision of a superintendent of Indian affairs. At the same time large powers were vested in the local governors and also in the legislature which was granted to the province of West Florida. Those Scotchmen who had been carrying British influence from Carolina over the mountains north of the French forts

now flocked to Mobile, and McGillivray, McIntosh, and similar names became familiar on the bay as well as on the river. Fort Condé was called Charlotte for the new queen, Toulouse and Tombecbé were renamed, but almost immediately abandoned, and forts built at Manchac and on the Mississippi, where now lay the true frontier.

The legislature was made up of a council and of commons from several districts. Those from Mobile, and Charlotte county in which it lay, were especially influential. They led the movement for annual elections, and the conflicts with the governors, especially Chester, stopped only short the revolution which broke out upon the Atlantic. A full set of courts, from Chancery and Admiralty down to a Court of Requests for small debts, was established, and the jury system introduced where the French had had the one-man rule of the commandant. Even the Church of England was established, although the rector, Rev. Mr. Gordon, was paid so little that he did not long remain, and Father Ferdinand after all kept his old influence. On the whole, there promised to be little difference between West Florida and the other southern colonies except in the larger numbers of the Latin race, and there was greater harmony with the Catholic French than in Carolina with the Huguenots.

The first governor was George Johnstone, a rough naval officer who soon embroiled himself with the army, and in particular with Major Farmar, the commandant at Mobile. He had Farmar tried by court-martial, from which, however, this gentleman emerged victorious. The governors changed in rapid succession. One committed suicide, another was promoted to a West Indian position. Elias Durnford was chief executive for some time, and to him and to Pittman we are indebted for the first survey

of Mobile River and Bay. Pittman, indeed, is one of our authors, but his subject was the Mississippi Settlements.

After England had acquired from the Indians the territory about the Bay and Tombigbee River, she put in force a land system which tended to induce immigration. The plan was perhaps crude in that it enabled the grantee to locate his own claim, and thus there came to be a great deal of irregularity, and in the course of time overlapping grants; but it was a case of first come first served, and in its way was efficient. Officers and soldiers of the late war with France were given land, which took the place of a modern pension. A private soldier got fifty acres and officers more, and upon the Tombigbee many took advantage of the donation. McIntosh, Farmar, Blackwell, Sunflower, Bassett, McGrew, and other names date from this period. On the Eastern Shore of the Bay there not only grew up the Village, but Durnford, Terry and Weggs had pleasant places, and Crofttown, on its lofty red cliff, became the regular summer camping ground of the Mobile garrison.

The town clustered about Fort Charlotte, being more regular to the north, however, than on the west and south sides. The lots surviving from French times were unchanged, and the little frame and mortar houses, often shaded with oaks or magnolias and overgrown with vines, faced rural ways where cattle mingled with people from three continents. McGillivray & Strothers, or McGillivray & Swanson, were the leading merchants and carried on a considerable business from the King's Wharf in front of the fort. Grants were made in the suburbs to people who wished to farm. The present Orange Grove, Fisher and Choctaw Point Tracts and Farmar's Island date from this time.

To the British is due the credit of making indigo as well as naval stores a fixed product of the country, in addition to the peltries of former days, and agriculture as well as Indian trade furnished a basis for future growth. Even the Revolution which broke out upon the Atlantic promised to result to the advantage of West Florida for fleeing loyalists, many bringing property settled on the Tombigbee. The Floridians remained loyal and are said to have burned the Declaration of Independence as well as imprisoned two emissaries who brought that treasonable document. Certain it is that Superintendent Stewart used his influence only too well to incite the Indians, particularly the Muscogees and Cherokees, to harry the Georgian and Carolinian settlements.

Spain had not formally recognized the independence of the British colonies, but took advantage of their civil war to advance her own interests. Bernardo Galvez, the energetic young governor of Louisiana, in 1779 advanced up the Mississippi River, captured the British posts before General Campbell could relieve them from Pensacola, and next year invested Fort Charlotte. Campbell undertook a relief expedition, but was delayed by storms, and Durnford was compelled to capitulate. The Spaniards then took the offensive and eastward from Spanish Fort on the Bay defeated the Waldeckers, who were in the British pay.

Not only did Galvez hold Mobile, and with it the Alabama-Tombigbee basin and the dependent coast, but next year attacked and captured Pensacola also. General Campbell, Governor Chester and the troops were repatriated to New York.

The treaties of peace in 1782-3 which recognized the independence of the United States also recognized that the northern coast of the Mexican Gulf

had become Spanish again. The Spanish flag waved from St. Augustine to Mobile, from Mobile to New Orleans. The Anglo-Saxon had fallen back before the Latin, and the Choctaws and Muscogees looked on in amazement from their native fastnesses. It seemed as if the hand had been turned backward upon the dial.

Spanish West Florida.

Galvez's conquest of West Florida showed a revival of Spanish vigor. Affairs were regulated by royal decrees from Madrid, but practically American viceroys had learned to accommodate themselves to the new world conditions and were good governors. There had ceased to be any large immigration from the mother country, and to the south the population was made up of Indians, with the Spanish or Creoles as upper classes. In Louisiana, and also in Florida now reconquered, the population was largely French, the Indians remaining in the interior. Representative government entirely disappeared, and in its place the authorities paternally regulated everything. English law had been superadded to the Coutume de Paris, and now both were gradually displaced by the Partidas, and the local alcaldes continued the jurisdiction of the English justices of the peace.

Pensacola was still nominally the capital. There was the land office and there were held juntas or commissions for sundry purposes. But the governorship of West Florida was practically annexed to that of Louisiana, and almost everything of importance had to be sent to New Orleans for ratification. The old Latin division of authority came into force again, for the intendant controlled the grant of lands and was practically independent of the governor. They often differed and their quarrels remind us of Bienville and La Salle.

The lack of immigration from Spain made it necessary, in order to build up the country, to induce immigration from some other quarter, and the British colonies and the American Union, which succeeded them, furnished a good many adventurers, who received grants and became valuable citizens. This caused in turn a relaxation of the rules as to religious observances. Theoretically, everything remained Catholic, and the Mobile church at the corner of Royal and Conti was the place of worship for a large parish. The priest, as in French times, made visitations to the coast and to the interior, but there grew up a great deal of religious indifference, which was to prove more difficult to handle than dissent.

Mobile remained the principal town. The streets were renamed for Spanish saints and worthies, Dauphin being called for Galvez, St. Charles becoming St. Joseph, and Conti yielding to St. Peter. There was less commerce than formerly, especially after the outbreak of the French Revolution, and the streets leading to the river were gradually occupied or became mere lanes. When the government house was removed to Royal near Fort Charlotte, it gave the name to a new street, Government, north of the Fort Esplanade.

The house of John Forbes & Co. succeeded Panton, Leslie & Co., of British time, and became the principal institution. Their main business was conducted from the spot now occupied by Royal and St. Francis, and from the warehouses further west, and they had a canal and landing to the north of the King's Wharf. Spain continued their license to import English goods, to which the Indians had become accustomed, and they took the place of the old British traders, their caravans traversing Indian paths and their bateaux plying the rivers. John Forbes & Co. were really the diplomatic agents of the Span-

ish government, and played a great part in all the events of the day. It might almost be said that they conducted the department of the interior.

The impetus given by Galvez did not last more than a few years. Public affairs became Spanish in form, and even private documents were finally written in Spanish instead of the native French, but the uncertainty of political matters in Europe was reflected, if not intensified, in America.

In acknowledging the independence of the United States, England had made their south boundary the line 31°, ignoring that of 32° 28′ which she had previously fixed as the limit of West Florida. This, of course, did not bind Spain, but it proved a matter of embarrassment until, in 1795, Jay effected a treaty in which Spain acknowledged the line of 31°. Her colonial officials delayed carrying this out as long as they could, but in 1798 they had to yield. Next year the surveyor Ellicott, with his Spanish consorts, erected a boundary stone on Mobile River hardly thirty miles above the Bay, and shortly afterwards Fort St. Stephen was turned over to McClary and his troops from Natchez.

North of the line came into existence Mississippi territory, and West Florida, as thus cut short, consisted of a strip of coast hardly sixty miles wide. Naturally there was little basis for growth, and the ruling classes were hardly the ones to take advantage of what there was. Indeed, an entirely new period may be dated from the delimitation of the boundary. It is true immigration from the United States somewhat increased, but it was to a large extent of people who looked forward to the absorption of the country by America. For a while Forbes & Co. maintained their old hold upon the Indians, but the gradual immigration to Mississippi territory rendered that increasingly more difficult. As

Napoleon's hold grew in Europe, and England's was strengthened on the sea, even Spaniards feared separation of West Florida from Spain.

President Jefferson seized the opportunity, and in 1803 purchased Louisiana. Louisiana had formerly gone to the Perdido and such was to be the American construction. It is true that Napoleon hinted in no doubtful manner that this was not correct, and the administration did not dare oppose him; but the time might come when even he might have his hands full at home. The Spaniards exacted duties on goods brought by sea to the American Fort Stoddert just above the line, and, as is usual on ill-guarded frontiers, criminals of all kinds escaped from one country to the other.

West Florida had reached a crisis in its history. Its rivers were gone and time must soon tell whether the coast should remain Latin or become Anglo-Saxon.

The Territorial Governments.

The creation of Mississippi territory in 1798 cut the history of the Southwest in two, but it did not mark the coming of the Anglo-Saxon and the retirement of the Latin, for that had occurred when the British came. It was not so much a change of race as a change of institutions. Previously the population had come from Europe and settled on the coast and rivers so as to communicate the better with the old home. With the coming of the Americans, however, we have an immigration through the interior and from communities which had ceased to look to the ocean except as a means of commerce, which were instinctively expanding over the mountains to the Mississippi Valley. The district south of Tennessee did not even touch the Gulf, and there were originally plans for its creation into a vast state fronting the Mississippi River and touching

Georgia to the rear. It was the old British West Florida cut off from the sea, and, after a little, compensated by the addition of the Indian country lying between 32° 28′ and the Tennessee line. At first ruled entirely by governor and judges appointed from the seat of Federal government, it rose to the second grade of territory in 1800. Besides earlier counties about Natchez on the Mississippi there came to be Washington county on the Tombigbee, and from it, in 1812, was taken Clarke county in the forks of the rivers, and Madison up in the great bend of the Tennessee had been formed in 1800.

The political history of the territory can be better told in connection with Mississippi, for the eastern half, whose separate interests soon came to the surface, was less populous and had less weight in the government. The purchase of Louisiana emphasized the affiliations of the Mississippi communities, and correspondingly emphasized the unity of the Mobile and Tombigbee settlements. The claim that the purchase extended to the Perdido determined the people to make the ideal a reality. At last the Tombigbee people were erected into a separate judicial district, and, in 1804, President Jefferson sent, in the person of Harry Toulmin, a professor late from England, a man who was to be influential in the development of this section. Locally its growth oscillated between Fort Stoddert, where the United States had a garrison and Admiralty Court, and St. Stephens, a town built somewhat further back from the river than the old Spanish fort. Huntsville on the Tennessee, with its beautiful site and admirable climate, also grew rapidly from immigration down the river from the Carolinas and Virginia, as well as across from Nashville and other Tennessee settlements. Many of those pressed on further and down the Bigbee.

The territorial system of the United States is in a measure colonial, in that the territory is dependent upon a distant head, but it is different in that this dependence is meant to be temporary. From the first there is the aspiration for statehood. The Federal authorities followed the preceding governments in making treaties with the Indians, but its plan was more definite and covered not only acquisition of lands for settlers, as from the Choctaws and Cherokees, but also the opening of roads through to the Atlantic states. The land system, too, was an improvement in that it required the survey of the whole country and then the sale of small tracts to individuals. While the rivers remained the principal means of intercourse and on account of the soil attracted planters, they ceased to be the only highways.

The fertility of the river bottoms led to a feature which was to become important as time went on. Slavery had existed from the beginning of European settlement, at first of the natives and afterwards of negroes imported from the Spanish Islands and from Africa. It had been adopted in Virginia and other Anglo-Saxon colonies as a necessity in the competition with the Spaniards to the south. Now the American immigrants brought slaves with them and the institution assumed a more definite shape and took a stronger hold upon the country than under the Latins.

The basin of the Alabama River was held by the Muscogees, now generally called Creeks, but the Choctaws soon relinquished all their lands on the Tombigbee, thus extending the cession of 1765. This district rapidly grew in population and resources. It had local courts, county organization and a militia system, springing from the needs of a country which had slaves in every household, and

an Indian border but a few miles away. Rough as was the civilization in many respects, it was not as when men begin from savagery. People brought with them the institutions—political, social, economic—of the older states. Even religion soon took a hold. The eccentric Lorenzo Dow was probably the first Protestant preacher on the Bigbee, but the Congregationalists and Presbyterians had been about Natchez even from British times, and from 1808 Baptists and Methodists had local churches.

The people took an interest in Federal affairs, and held an indignation meeting when the report came that the *Leopard* had fired into Chesapeake over the right of search. Interest aroused by Burr's descent of the Mississippi River was intensified by his escape to the Tombigbee and capture at McIntosh Bluff by Capt. E. P. Gaines from Fort Stoddert. There was much sympathy for Burr, and so he was soon sent eastward by Indian roads for trial at Richmond. The Bigbee settlers loved their district, but looked eagerly forward to the acquisition of Mobile from the Spaniards. When the Kempers and others established the short-lived state of West Florida, with capital at Baton Rouge, the settlers made, also, an attempt on Mobile. It was ill-managed, however, and the United States sent a detachment from Fort Stoddert to protect the city against the Americans.

When the War of 1812 broke out with England, the use of the Spanish Gulf ports by the English fleet gave the long-wished for excuse, and General Wilkinson, in command of the Southwest, sailed from New Orleans for Mobile. He politely demanded that the Spaniards retire across the Perdido, as Mobile was in American territory. Cayetano Perez was even more polite, but denied the assumption; however, his forces were so inferior to Wilkinson's

MASSACRE AT FORT MIMMS, ALABAMA

August 30th, 1813.

that the American general was shortly able to report that Mobile had been surrendered "without the effusion of a drop of blood." The river basin was at last a political unit, and its commerce flowed unvexed to the sea.

There remained, however, a greater problem than the Latins, who at least could be absorbed into the body politic, for at Mobile the Bigbee immigrants cordially united with them in building up the port. This was not true of the Indians, who occupied more than half of the territory, in fact practically the whole of the basin of the Alabama and its tributaries. Whether the Indian could become an American citizen was a question to be settled by time. At all events he was there and had to be dealt with. He had given up all the land he could spare from hunting, and, unless civilized, there must come a conflict of interests between him and the whites. The Union had agents among the Indians, and agriculture, cattle and other evidences of progress abounded among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Col. Benjamin Hawkins oversaw the Creeks from his headquarters near what is now Macon, Ga., but despite his optimism there was a strong undercurrent of opposition among them. This was brought to a head by the visit of Tecumseh, who was aiding the British in the Northwest. Pushmataha managed to keep the Choctaws in line, and the Chickasaws were too far off to be dangerous, but the war party among the Creeks soon acquired the upper hand. An attempt at Burnt Corn failed to prevent them from obtaining munitions from Pensacola, and on Aug. 30, 1813, the Creek, Weatherford, captured and destroyed Fort Mims, where the Alabama joins the Tombigbee. Settlers in Clarke county fled to blockhouses and improvised forts, and terror reigned supreme.

The Federal authorities had their hands full in

opposing British armies, and indeed were soon, with the capture of Washington, themselves in flight; but "Remember Fort Mims" became a watchword which roused Georgia and Tennessee as well as the territorial authorities at Natchez. Three armies of militia were soon in the field converging towards the heart of the Creek territory.

All suffered from the short terms of enlistment, and the Georgia troops under Floyd effected little. The Mississippi army was hampered by instructions to restrict itself to the defense of Mobile, but fortunately Claiborne construed this broadly and assumed the offensive. He defeated the Indians at Holy Ground, Econochaca, and built a supply depot and fort upon the commanding Alabama bluff since named for him. The rough but energetic Andrew Jackson, accompanied by Coffee and others, marched by way of Huntsville to the upper Coosa and fought his way southward, possibly on the old route of De Soto. Talladega, Horse Shoe Bend and other victories made him famous, and he was finally able, from Fort Toulouse—rebuilt and rechristened for him—to dictate peace, which settled the Indian question for many years. All land west of the Coosa and of a line running southeastwardly from Fort Jackson was ceded to the United States.

Jackson descended the river to Mobile, and placed Fort Charlotte and Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point in proper condition for defense. Captain Lawrence on the Point had soon to sustain the attack of a British fleet, assisted by Indians on land, but was victorious. The Mobile district seemed reasonably secure, and Jackson transferred his headquarters to New Orleans to oppose the British. After their defeat at that point they returned, captured Fort Bowyer and made Dauphine Island one vast camp;

INTERVIEW BETWEEN GENERAL JACKSON AND WEATHERFORD.

but Fort Charlotte protected Mobile until the Peace of Ghent put an end to hostilities.

Now that the heart of the river basin from the Tennessee Valley to the Florida line was open to white settlement, immigration came by leaps and bounds. The Whitney gin made cotton-raising the money-making industry, and planters took up much of the Black Belt. Town-making became the rage. Not only was Blakely founded across the delta as a rival to Mobile, and even St. Stephens had neighbors, but Wetumpka, Montgomery, Selma and Tuscaloosa were laid out, besides others which were to live only on paper. The steamboat had come on the Mississippi. It was clear that in a short time it must solve the transportation question and make of the river basin an agricultural commonwealth. The old times when the port which looked abroad was the only place of interest had passed. Local centres were developed over the eastern half of Mississippi territory, and the commerce through Mobile vastly increased.

The western half, with Mississippi River as its promoter, had increased even more rapidly, and in 1817 was erected into the state of Mississippi. The counties left outside became the territory of Alabama, whose legislature met at St. Stephens as the first capital; but in two years the sentiment steadily grew that this new territory also was ripe for statehood.

Thus, then, we have traversed the early history of Alabama, from its exploration by the Spaniards and settlement by the French, through the varying domination of the Briton and Spaniard. The Indians were still there, but they were segregated. The African had come, but he was a laborer. The Latin and Briton had fused into the American. The unity of the Alabama-Tombigbee basin had at last

been recognized, and steam was to make of it a reality heretofore undreamed of. Colonial dependence upon a mother country across the sea had come to an end, and even territorial institutions were to merge into those of a self-governing state.

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PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON,

Author of Colonization of the South; Reconstruction, etc.

Chapter II.

ALABAMA FROM 1819 TO 1865.

Alabama Admitted to the Union.

It was not an accident that four western states were admitted into the Union within the brief period of three years extending from December, 1816, to December, 1819. Nor was it entirely due to the skill of politicians that two of these, Illinois and Indiana, came from the northwest, and two, Mississippi and Alabama, from the southwest. The four states grew up with the same western movement of population that followed the War of 1812.

In the South, the conquest of the Mobile district and the battle of New Orleans determined definitely that this whole region was to belong to the United States, and that no foreign power would interfere with the settlers from the eastern states; while the victory of Jackson over the Creek Indians at Horseshoe Bend, in what is now eastern Alabama, and the resulting treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814, were a definite indication that the Indians were not to be allowed to stand in the way of the development of the new region.

Thus encouraged, immigration poured in steadily in three streams. The rich valley of the Tennessee River in northern Alabama was settled chiefly from Tennessee, and, indirectly, through Tennessee, from Virginia and the older states. The central regions, along the river valleys and in the flat lands, were settled largely from Georgia, and, through Georgia, from North and South Carolina, the settlers often making their way through the Creek territory. The Mobile district and the valleys of the Alabama and

the Tombigbee rivers were settled by people from many different states, some coming even from New England. One colony, consisting of French exiles, who had followed the fortunes of Napoleon until his downfall, founded on the Tombigbee River a town, which they called Demopolis, in what later became Marengo county.

In 1817 the territory, which afterwards became the state of Alabama, contained 33,000 inhabitants; in 1818, 67,000; in 1820, 137,000. In 1817, Mississippi state was organized and the remaining portion of the territory became Alabama territory. Two years later, March 2, 1819, Congress passed an enabling act, permitting the people of this territory to form a state government. The act by which Georgia had in 1802 ceded this land to the national government provided that it should be subject to the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, except as to slavery. The enabling act carried out this idea, and specified that the state constitution should be in accord with that ordinance, save as to slavery, and offered to the state certain land grants for education and funds for internal improvement.

In accordance with this act, a constitutional convention met at Huntsville on July 5, 1819, and continued in session until August 2. Huntsville was at that time the most flourishing town in northern Alabama, and was more distinctly American than Mobile, the leading town of South Alabama. The convention was an able body of men. Some of them had already gained political experience in the older states; many of them were to attain prominence in the later history of Alabama. It is possible to trace in the document which they drew up the influence of Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina ideas; yet the document was not a slavish imitation. It was a good, practical constitution, and

it lasted with several small amendments down to the War of Secession. It contained a bill of rights, provided for the usual three departments of government, legislature, governor and courts, and accepted the conditions and the offers of the enabling act. The most interesting sections are an elaborate one concerning banks, and a brief one about slaves, both of which will be referred to later on.

The new constitution was duly approved, and on Dec. 14, 1819, Alabama became a state in the Union. The state government had already been formed, the General Assembly had met at Huntsville on Oct. 25, 1819, and Gov. W. W. Bibb had been inaugurated on Nov. 9, 1819.

Growth and Development.

The new state, which had thus been safely launched, was in some respects a frontier community of pioneers, in other respects it closely resembled the older states farther east. Mobile, although a small town with scarcely more than 2,000 inhabitants, was more than a hundred years old, and had some of the conservatism that naturally came from French and Spanish traditions; but Blakeley, which faced it across the bay, was a new American town, enterprising and western in its character. So were most of the settlements that sprang up on the Alabama and the Tombigbee rivers. With the exception of Mobile, there were few places in Alabama that could boast of being more than ten or twelve years old. The inhabitants were naturally absorbed in the practical task of clearing away the forests and conquering the new soil; but the distance from the older states was so short and the prospect of rapid growth was so clear, that many of the pioneers came from the higher class, and gave an eastern tone to the new state.

The chief towns were Mobile, Hunstville, St.

Stephens, Claiborne, Blakeley, Florence, and Tuscaloosa. None of these had more than 2,000 inhabitants, most of them considerably less. Montgomery, the future capital of the state, was a mere village, which had been founded two years before through the joint efforts of John Falconer, of South Carolina, and Andrew Dexter, of Rhode Island. With remarkable forethought, Dexter reserved the crest of a commanding hill for the future state capitol. His dream waited thirty years for its fulfillment, but in 1846 the state capital was moved from Tuscaloosa, and in 1847 the building was erected on the hill where he had planned that it should be. The towns were small, but every one of them expected to be a city, and lots in them sold at fancy prices.

The state was largely agricultural, and was to remain so until the war. The chief crop was cotton, and for transportation the planters depended, in the main, on the rivers. Of these there were two groups, one centering at Mobile, consisting of the Alabama and the Tombigbee rivers and their tributaries, the other consisting of the Tennessee River and its tributaries, which flowed through the northern part of Alabama into the Ohio. These two systems lacked common commercial interests, and thoughtful men feared that the state might ultimately divide into two sections. To overcome this difficulty, the legislature early planned roads to unite the two sections. This was the beginning of many plans to connect the northern and the southern parts of the state, sometimes by canals from the Tennessee to the Coosa, and later by railroads from Gunter's Landing on the Tennessee to the Alabama River at Selma or Montgomery.

A great step in the development of these rivers was taken in 1821, when the first steamboat made its way from Mobile to Montgomery. The trip took

five days, which was one-sixth of the time required by barges. The entire population of the little town, Montgomery, turned out to bid it welcome, and well they might, for it was the beginning of a new method of transportation which was to make it possible for the towns to become cities.

Although the state was a new one, with a widely scattered population, dependent almost entirely upon agriculture, nevertheless, churches, schools, and newspapers, the three great institutions of civilization, began their existence early. Naturally, the Roman Catholics took the lead in early Mobile, but Protestants soon followed, and with the coming of settlers from other states, the Methodists and the Baptists became the most numerous. Other denominations followed soon, and in a few years after its admission all the leading churches were represented on its soil.

In early Mobile, education had been carried on, partly at least, in connection with the church. In the other sections of the state private schools sprang up as occasion permitted. Washington Academy had been founded at St. Stephens in 1811, and Green Academy at Huntsville in 1812. Planters not infrequently employed tutors for their children, and sometimes sent their boys to school in the east. The territorial government had as early as 1814 given some financial aid to private academies. The enabling act provided for a state "Seminary of Learning," and set aside certain lands for it and also for the general cause of education. No regular public school system, however, was developed until shortly before the war. To carry out the provisions for a seminary of learning, the University of Alabama was chartered in 1820, and after some years of planning was opened in 1831. From that time until the present day it has exercised a strong and healthy

educational influence. When Alabama became a state, newspapers already existed in Mobile, Huntsville, St. Stephens and Florence. The next year they were established at Montgomery, Claiborne, Cahawba, and Tuscaloosa.

The conquest of nature absorbed the inhabitants of the new state so fully that they had little time for political questions; nor did these for some years press upon them for solution. The new state began its career in the "Era of Good Feeling" under President Monroe. The bitter Missouri contest was contemporaneous with its admission, and during the years of political quiet that followed, Alabama knew no politics. The population was nearly half slave; but the conditions were favorable to slavery, and there was little difference of opinion about it. Laws were passed to regulate the institution, to prevent cruelty on the one hand and wholesale emancipation on the other, to prescribe the status of free negroes, and to maintain order among the slaves and the free. The question then passed into the background, where it slumbered, with one or two brief interruptions, until it was called forth by the great discussions that immediately preceded the war.

The Indian Lands.

The Indian, unlike the negro, early brought the state into touch with the national government and its policies. During the War of 1812, while Alabama was still a part of the Mississippi territory, the Creek Indians had sided with the British, and had perpetrated the massacre of Fort Mims. They had not been definitely checked until Andrew Jackson defeated them at Horshoe Bend. The treaty of Fort Jackson, Aug. 9, 1814, restricted them within definite limits in the eastern part of the state. In 1816 the Cherokees gave up all their lands except a

small area in the northeast of the state, and the Chickasaws all save an equally small space in the northwest, and the Choctaws all except a narrow strip west of the Tombigbee.

This left three-quarters of the state open to white settlement. But, as the whites poured in, the demand increased that all Indians should be removed by the national government. In Georgia the same struggle was going on, and, while the treaty of 1826 secured for that state practically all that was asked, Alabama was left without relief. In 1830 the Choctaws gave up their lands, and soon afterward moved west of the Mississippi. But the Creeks, who held the largest territory and were directly in the line of settlers coming from Georgia, still remained, and were at times troublesome. At length in 1832 they consented by the treaty of Dancing Rabbit to give up their lands and go west. White settlers immediately rushed into the ceded land before the time fixed by the treaty. Federal troops were ordered to enforce its terms, and in the attempt in August, 1833, killed a settler named Owens. Excitement ran high. Governor Gayle and Secretary of War Cass had a sharp correspondence, and for a time a struggle seemed imminent between the state and the national governments. Fortunately Francis Scott Key, who was sent from Washington to arrange the matter, showed great tact and fair-mindedness, a compromise was reached, and the dispute was settled amicably.

At length four years later, in 1837, after a lively fight with the whites at Pea Ridge, the Creeks finally left their old home and followed the other Indians across the Mississippi. The Cherokees agreed to leave in 1835, and by 1838 only a few scattered Indians remained in the state, and the Indian question in Alabama was settled forever.

Nullification.

Before this problem was finally disposed of, Alabama was brought face to face with another that raised serious questions as to the relation of the state to the nation. The nullification controversy, which raged so hotly in South Carolina, spread quickly to Alabama, and at one time it seemed possible that the state would endorse the attitude of South Carolina. Many South Carolinians, caught by the westward movement, had emigrated to Alabama, and kept the states in close touch. Moreover the economic conditions that brought about the trouble in the older state were even more marked in the newer. Alabama was an agricultural state and had almost no manufactories at all. Public opinion was therefore naturally opposed to a protective tariff; and when South Carolina proposed the remedy of nullification, it was an open question whether Alabama would endorse its action. The matter became an issue in the gubernatorial campaign of 1831, John Gayle, who vigorously condemned nullification, was elected, and the legislature by a vote of forty-six to sixteen declared against it.

State Banking.

The decade 1830-40 was an eventful one in the state's history. It not only covered the settlement of the Indian question and the nullification controversy, but it witnessed the culmination and the downfall of the State Bank. While Alabama was still a territory, the need of more money was keenly felt. In addition to the usual demand for capital to develop the resources of a new country, the money in circulation was steadily drained eastward by the sale of government lands. To meet this want, banks were needed which would lend money on ordinary security, and would increase the circulation by issuing bank notes. The territorial legislature estab-

lished several, usually reserving to the territory an option on a part of the stock. The constitutional convention recognized the importance of the subject, and devoted a long section of the constitution to it. This section authorized the establishment of a State Bank, safeguarded it as far as was thought wise, and provided that the state should hold at least two-fifths of the stock.

The legislature of 1823 established "The Bank of the State of Alabama." It was to be controlled by a president and twelve directors, all appointed by the legislature. It was to make loans, issue notes, and be the depository of state funds. The Bank was located at the state capital, which was then Cahawba, but it was moved to Tuscaloosa, when that town became capital in 1826. Branches were established in 1832 at Montgomery, Mobile, and Decatur, and in 1835 at Huntsville. The growth of the bank corresponded with the "Flush Times" that culminated in 1836, when speculation and wild finance reached their height. It is hard to apportion to the bank on the one hand and to circumstances on the other their proper shares of responsibility for what happened. But it was certainly badly managed, and there were many accusations of corruption. The appointment of its president and directors for short terms by the legislature put it in politics, and it was openly charged with favoritism and graft. For some years it prospered, or seemed to, and in 1836 the state tax laws were repealed, and the bank was relied on to defray the state's expenses. Scandals connected with its management, combined with the panic of 1837, brought it to grief. Legislative investigation followed, and in 1842-43, under the leadership of Governor Fitzpatrick and John A. Campbell, the legislature put the whole system in liquidation. In 1846 a commission was appointed, of

which F. S. Lyon was chairman, to wind up its affairs. Under his able guidance the task was completed in 1853.

Political Conditions.

With the growth of the state, participation in national affairs increased. The Indian problem had been a local one with possibilities of national complications; the bitter experience with a state bank was, although scarcely recognized as such at the time, a phase of the general financial recklessness that swept over the whole country; the nullification controversy brought Alabama in touch with a national question that concerned especially an older state to the east of them; in 1836 the struggle of Texas for independence aroused a lively sympathy in a state that was itself largely as yet a land of pioneers. Mass meetings were held, funds were subscribed, and volunteers were organized to help the cause. In the massacre at Goliad was a company of troops organized near Montgomery by Captain Ticknor. They perished almost to a man.

This growing interest in public affairs showed itself quickly in a livelier participation in political life. For years the state had been unquestionably Democratic. The popularity of Andrew Jackson had been very great; but with his retirement in 1837 the Whig party made rapid strides, especially among the larger planters in the rich farming regions of the central and southern parts of the state. By 1839 they controlled two of the five congressional districts, those embracing Tuscaloosa and Mobile; and in a spectacular campaign in 1840 they came near carrying the state for President Harrison. So anxious did the Democrats become that they urged the selection of congressmen on a "General Ticket" by a joint vote of the entire state instead of by districts. This was done in 1841, but public sentiment pro-

nounced against it. When compelled to return to the old system, they made in 1842-43, a still more significant effort to retain their control by changing the old plan of counting three-fifths of the slaves in determining the population of the congressional districts. Under the new law only whites were to be counted. This is interesting as showing not only the growth of the Whig party, but that its strength at this time lay largely in the districts where slavery was strongest.

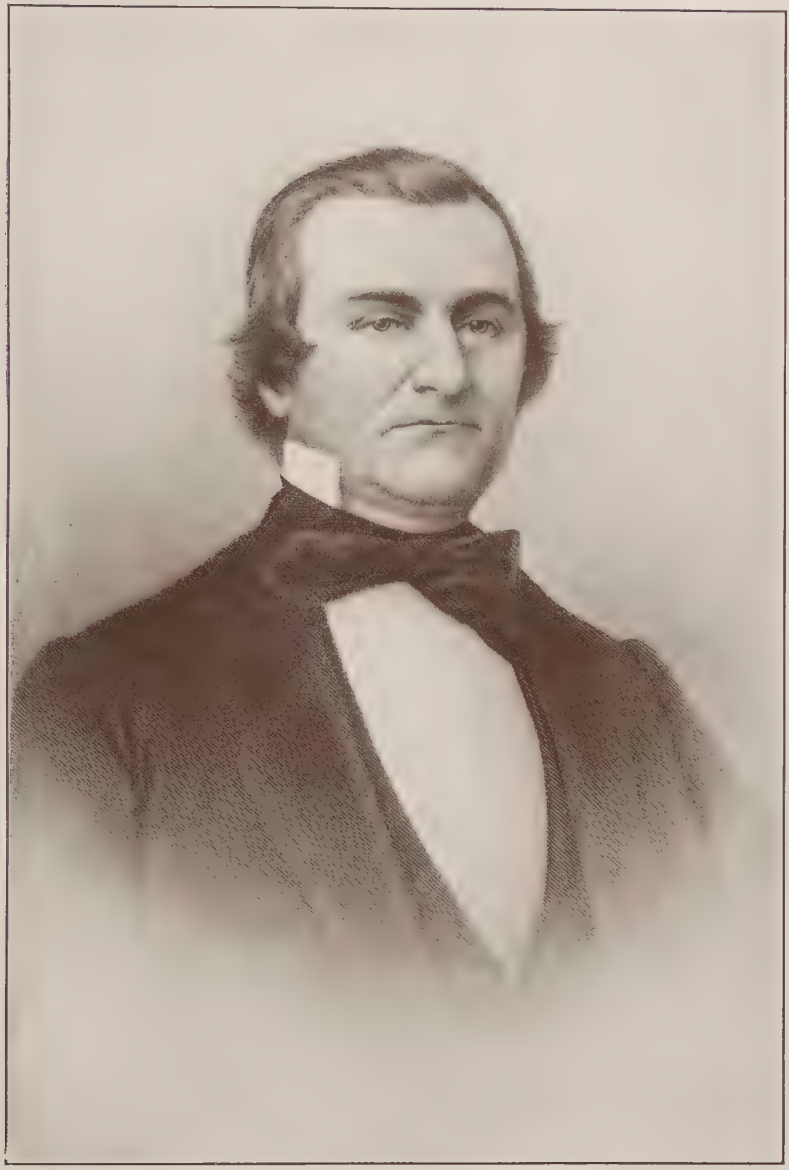
Mexican War and Its Relation to the Slavery Question.

In 1846 the Texas question reappeared in the form of a war with Mexico. In spite of memories of Goliad, men enlisted freely. Some served with troops from other states. An Alabama regiment was led by Col. John R. Coffey, and a battalion by Maj. J. J. Seibels. Excitement ran high, and at the close of the war enthusiastic receptions were given to Generals Shields and Quitman when they passed through the state. It is difficult to explain with certainty the great interest that the war aroused among Alabamians. They were stirred by the love of adventure, by the hope of fame, and by a ready and not too critical sympathy with their fellow countrymen who were beset by foreigners. Themselves inhabiting a new and rapidly growing state, they felt the charm of growth and expansion, and dreamed more or less of new boundaries for the nation whose political life was now beginning to pulse vigorously in their veins. Some doubtless foresaw with tolerable clearness an increase of slave territory and planned therefor.

Whatever may have been their motive in waging the war, there is no question that it brought them face to face with the great problem of slavery in the territories, which involved the question of states

rights and was to find its solution only in civil war. The states rights sentiment was not a new one in Alabama history. It had been stirred by the Indian question and by the nullification contest. The followers of John C. Calhoun in Alabama had for more than ten years been called "States Rights Men," especially in opposing the Whig ideas of a National Bank and national aid to internal improvement. They had found an able leader in Dixon H. Lewis, one of the most remarkable men of his day. A warm friend of Calhoun and of Yancey, he is the connecting link between the older South Carolina school of political philosophy and the later group that followed the leadership of the Alabamian, Yancey.

But none of these discussions brought the question of states rights home to the people of Alabama so persistently or so effectively as did the territorial problems that grew directly and indirectly out of the Mexican War. These touched the slavery question and made it for the first time a great political issue in the state. The legislature had, it is true, from time to time passed laws in regard to slaves, for example, in 1827, to check and to regulate the slave trade, in 1832 to prevent free negroes from coming into the state, in 1834 to require emancipated slaves to leave the state within twelve months after emancipation, and at different times to regulate the patrol system and the management of slaves. But these acts had aroused no serious differences of opinion, and the anti-slavery movement found little sympathy in any part of the state. James G. Birney, who at that time lived at Huntsville, became in the early thirties an agent for the Colonization Society, and established a few feeble branches of it; but his work met with a discouraging reception, and he left the state, joined the out and out abolitionists, and became their candidate for the presidency. In the



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main, the abolitionists were regarded as dreamers, and the danger from them was too remote to create more than a passing wave of excitement.

But with the acquisition of the lands that came from the Mexican War, the question assumed the new and more practical form, whether slavery should exist in the territories. This became a national issue from the moment that Wilmot of Pennsylvania presented in Congress his well-known proviso excluding it from them. In Alabama, as in the other Southern states, this called forth a general and vigorous protest, which found expression in local meetings in many parts of the state, and culminated in a famous set of resolutions adopted by the State Democratic convention in Montgomery in 1848. This was the most advanced position taken by any Southern state at that time and was taken under the leadership of William L. Yancey, who now succeeded Lewis as the leader of the "States Rights Men," and was to be from this time until his death in 1863 the most conspicuous of all Alabamians. These resolutions were known far and wide as "The Alabama Platform." They declared that neither Congress nor a territorial legislature had a right to prohibit slavery in the new territories which had been acquired by the common efforts of all the states, that it was the duty of the national government to protect slave property in this territory, and that the party would support no man for the presidency who would not indorse these resolutions.

The first part was merely the logical and final development of Calhoun's philosophy; but the last resolution was a bold statement of a plan of political action, which is the keynote of Yancey's policy. The National Democratic convention which met in Baltimore that year refused to adopt the Alabama Platform; and the Democrats of the state, with the

exception of Yancey and a few of his followers, supported Cass for the presidency in spite of the fact that he did not fulfill its requirements. It failed, therefore, at the time, to achieve its purpose, but it aroused a vigorous discussion in Alabama and in other states, and was to reappear twelve years later with important results at the Charleston Convention.

Meanwhile the political pendulum throughout the state swung toward the conservative side. Yancey was denounced by many as a radical and an agitator, the compromise measures of 1850 were indorsed by the Whigs and with some hesitancy by the Democrats, and a Union convention at Montgomery in 1851 went so far as to deny the right of secession.

By 1852, when Pierce was elected to the presidency and William R. King, a distinguished Alabamian, to the vice-presidency, the problems resulting from the Mexican War seemed to have been permanently solved, and the political excitement subsided.

Industrial and Economic Questions.

The lull was a brief one, but it gave the people an opportunity to discuss their economic and industrial needs, and to push forward plans for coöperation in these lines. Indeed no student of the early fifties can fail to be impressed with the beginning made in business development, and to wonder how rapid its progress would have been, if it had not been interrupted by the War of Secession. Business had been the absorbing theme during the state's early years, and it had come near to being the only one during the "flush times" of 1830-36. A traveler who visited the state in 1833 says: "It was a subject of wonder and cogitation to me, who had been for many years constantly taken up with the affairs of government, and the strife of party politics, to listen to my Montgomery friends talking without ceasing

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of cotton, negroes, land and money." Nor had this interest waned greatly during the fifteen years that followed. The panic of 1837 had seriously checked the progress of many undertakings. The Mexican War and the political turmoil that followed it absorbed public interest at the expense of the discussion of business. But at bottom this still constituted the chief interest of the state, and by the fifties it had made considerable progress. The population had grown to nearly 800,000. Farming was still far the most important industry, and cotton was almost the only crop for sale. But the amount raised was steadily increasing. At Mobile alone the cotton receipts had increased from 10,000 bales in 1819, when the state was admitted, to 237,000 during the flush times of 1836, and to 549,000 in 1852. The means of transportation showed great improvement. Steamboats had grown in number and rivaled in size and comfort those on the Mississippi. A definite movement for good roads had been started, and plank roads had been built with some enthusiasm, but they had proved unsatisfactory and the movement died. Its loss, however, was more than made good by the coming of the railroad. In 1831 the Tuscumbia Railroad was begun. It was to run to Decatur, connecting the two navigable sections of the Tennessee River which were separated by the Muscle Shoals. Forty-four miles of it were finished in 1833. In 1834 the Montgomery Railroad was chartered. Its progress was delayed by the panic, but twelve miles were opened for business in 1840. About twelve years later it reached West Point, Ga., and became an important link in the system by which travelers and merchandise came from the east to Montgomery and thence by steamboats down the Alabama to Mobile. In 1848 the Mobile and Ohio Railroad was chartered and thirty-three miles had

been built in 1852. Other lines were planned, and in 1854 the South and North Railroad was incorporated, which was destined to be the first successful attempt to connect the Tennessee and the Alabama River valleys, and thereby to unite in a business way the two sections of the state.

To many men this rapid development seemed to call for more capital than could be furnished by the scanty resources of private individuals, and a strong demand arose for state aid in the building of railroads. Judge L. P. Walker was a leading advocate of this plan. Others who feared the extension of the powers even of their own state government earnestly opposed it. They found a vigorous leader in Governor Winston, who during his two terms, 1853-57, vetoed thirty-three measures of this kind.

Nor did this demand for an enlargement of the activities of the state government restrict itself to such industrial lines as the building of railroads. In 1854 the legislature passed an act establishing the public school system in the state, and money was appropriated for it in addition to the fund set aside by the United States government in the enabling act.

Slavery Controversy.

This prospect of a quiet industrial development was suddenly swept aside when in 1854 Douglas brought forward his Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the struggle for Kansas began, which in one form or another was to continue until it was settled by the war. The slavery question was thus once more brought to the front, and in a definite and dramatic form. Newspapers and speakers discussed the matter; but the situation demanded action, and Alabama probably did more than any other Southern state, save Missouri, to beat the Emigrant Aid Societies at their own game. Several companies of

men went from the state, the largest of which was organized by Jefferson Buford. His purpose is best seen by reading his card in the newspapers: "I wish to raise three hundred industrious, sober, discreet, reliable men, capable of bearing arms, not prone to use them wickedly or unnecessarily, but willing to protect their section in every real emergency." Border warfare is demoralizing, and his men may not have lived up to his ideal; but he and they were in earnest, and seem to have behaved rather better than many others did under trying conditions.

The old friction over fugitive slaves and the new terror and indignation that followed John Brown's raid added fuel to the flame of passion that was fast getting beyond control, while the Dred Scott decision was felt to be a strong indorsement of the constitutional position of the States Rights men. In vain did more conservative men try to stem the current of public opinion as Whigs, or to direct it to other issues as Americans or Know-Nothings, or to control it as a wing of the Democratic party under the leadership of Forsyth, Seibels and Fitzpatrick. The result was inevitable. The current of events carried the Yancey wing of the Democratic party into control, and the state's delegates to the national convention in Charleston in 1860 were instructed to insist upon the adoption of the Alabama Platform by that body, and to withdraw if their request were refused. In vain did Forsyth protest against the demand for a platform which would "scatter the Democrats to the winds." "The result must be," he said, "submission to a Republican administration, or a dissolution of the Union." Alabama had made up its mind to demand what it considered its full rights under the constitution and to abide by the consequences, and the legislature passed an ominous resolution in-

structing the governor to call a state convention in case Lincoln should be elected.

Secession.

At Charleston, Yancey in a speech of wonderful force and eloquence urged the demands of his state; but his efforts were unsuccessful, and the Alabama delegates and many others withdrew. The party was hopelessly split and Lincoln was elected.

Now followed the most intense and earnest discussion as to whether the state should secede. Those who opposed secession urged that Lincoln's election made no great change in the situation, that the Supreme Court, which had recently given the Dred Scott decision, was still to be depended upon, and that Congress was still safely conservative. What could Lincoln do? Moreover, how would the situation be improved by secession? Would fugitive slaves be easier to recover if Ohio and Massachusetts belonged to a foreign government? "Let us, at any rate," they said, "consult with the other Southern states, and see whether we can devise some plan to secure our rights in the Union. If not, then we can secede together."

The advocates of immediate secession on the other hand, replied that coöperation had been tried before and had failed, and that the temper of the times made any compromise impossible, even if it were desirable. Their opinion of the significance of Lincoln's election was clearly stated by Governor Moore:

"The Republicans have now succeeded in electing Mr. Lincoln, who is pledged to carry out the principles of the party that elected him. The course of events shows clearly that this party will in a short time have a majority in both branches of Congress. It will be in their power to change the complexion of

the Supreme Court so as to make it harmonize with Congress and the President. When that party gets possession of all the departments of the government with the purse and the sword, he must be blind indeed who does not see that slavery will be excluded from the territories, and other free states will in hot haste be admitted into the Union until they have a majority to alter the constitution. Then slavery will be abolished by law in the states. The state of society that will exist in the Southern states with four millions of free negroes and their increase turned loose upon them, I will not discuss—it is too horrible to contemplate."

The struggle over the question of secession was hard and close. Even when the convention met, no one knew what its decision would be. In a test vote, the immediate secessionists won by a majority of fifty-four to forty-five, and the ordinance of secession was finally adopted on Jan. 11, 1861, by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-nine. Twenty-four delegates did not sign it.

A newspaper of the time records that when the result was announced "the rejoicing commenced, and the people seemed wild with excitement, * * * cannon reverberated through the city, the various church bells commenced ringing, and shout after shout might have been heard along the principal streets."

On February 4, less than a month later, the delegates from the seceding states met in Montgomery, and organized the Confederate States of America. In the capitol building, which still stands on the hill reserved for it by Dexter, the Confederate Congress shaped the destinies of the new republic, and on its portico Jefferson Davis was inaugurated on February 18, amidst unbounded enthusiasm. For three months Montgomery continued the capital of the

Confederacy, and Alabama occupied the most conspicuous place on the stage.

Alabama's Part in the Confederacy.

In the war that followed, Alabamians played as important a part as in the scenes that ushered it in. In the cabinet of President Davis served two Alabamians, L. P. Walker, as secretary of war, and Thomas H. Watts, as attorney-general. Judge John A. Campbell, who resigned his place on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States at the outbreak of the war, became assistant secretary of war, and, because of his great learning and ability, exercised an influence with the administration almost equal to that of a member of the cabinet. William L. Yancey was at once sent abroad as the representative of the new government to enlist the sympathy and the help of England, and after his return, made the influence of Alabama strongly felt in the Confederate Senate.

On the field and on the sea the state contributed its full share of men and won its full share of glory. Its population in 1860 contained a little more than half a million whites, and the number of soldiers that it furnished to the Confederate cause has been variously estimated at from ninety thousand to one hundred and thirty thousand. These soldiers were found in every important battle of the war. They followed many famous commanders who were born in other states, and served with a fervor that knew no state divisions. They constituted the troops with which Generals Wheeler and Gordon won their first fame; and served under General Longstreet, who, although born in another state, is himself on the official list of generals accredited to Alabama. Raphael Semmes, a resident of Mobile, commanded the *Alabama,* which did more damage to Northern

commerce than any other vessel during the war. In the Confederate army were found six major-generals from Alabama, and twenty-nine brigadier-generals. From Alabama came the "Gallant Pelham," the boy artilleryman, of whom General Lee said, "It is glorious to see such courage in one so young."

While the state did not become the scene of great campaigns, as did Virginia and Georgia, yet its soil was often invaded by Union troops, and there was scarcely any section of it that did not at some time during the war suffer the horrors of invasion, and that did not at its close show its dreadful effects.

After the battle of Shiloh, in 1862, the Confederate army moved southward into Mississippi, and the fertile valley of the Tennessee River in northern Alabama fell into the hands of the Federal troops. It remained in their possession almost continuously until the end of the war. In 1863 Streight made a raid through the hill country of northern Alabama, and was captured after a brilliant pursuit by Gen. N. B. Forrest. It was an Alabama girl, Emma Sansom, who, amidst shot and shell, guided Forrest to a ford near Gadsden, and helped him overtake the Federals.

Raids were made through the central portion of the state by General Rousseau in 1864, and by General Wilson in 1865, resulting in the burning of the state university, the tearing up of railroads and the destruction of much public and private property at Montgomery, Selma and other places.

The port of Mobile was blockaded in 1861. In the summer of 1864 Admiral Farragut, in the desperate battle of Mobile Bay, defeated the Confederate fleet under Admiral Buchanan. The neighboring forts were captured later after a brave resistance, and on April 12, 1865, Mobile surrendered.

With few exceptions, the people of Alabama sustained the cause of the Confederacy to their utmost. While secession was still a question open for discussion, many opposed it; but when war came, they followed their state, and gave their lives and their property freely in behalf of the new government, whose beginning they had witnessed with high hopes in their own capital city, Montgomery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—By far the most important collection of material for the history of the state is to be found in the state department of archives and history, which is located in the capitol at Montgomery. Its director, Dr. Thomas M. Owen, has accumulated an invaluable collection of manuscripts, official documents, newspaper files, books, and maps. Some of this material is in course of publication under the editorship of the director. The files in the office of the *Montgomery Advertiser* are also very helpful. The following are the most important books: Brewer, W.: *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men* (indispensable for reference); DuBose, J. W.: *Life and Times of Yancey* (gives full account of the political movements that led to the War of Secession); Fleming, W. L.: *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (invaluable for the war period); Garrett, William: *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama* (a rich storehouse of information); Hodgson, J.: *Cradle of the Confederacy* (gives full account of the political movements that led to the war); Owen, T. M.: (ed.) *The Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society* (4 vols.); Petrie, George: (ed.) *Studies in Southern and Alabama History* (3 vols.); *The Memorial Record of Alabama* (2 vols., containing biographical sketches and also important articles on different phases of the state's history by specialists); *Northern Alabama* (containing sketches of men and places by various authors). The earliest historians of the state were A. B. Meek, the author of *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History*, and A. J. Pickett, whose great *History of Alabama* covers the first year of this period. Pickett's work has been continued in a brief form by Owen, in his *Annals of Alabama.* The *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* give a great deal of material for the war period; articles on Mobile and Montgomery in *Historic Towns of the Southern States*, ed. by L. P. Powell, give some idea of the growth of towns in the early days. The three general histories of Alabama by W. G. Brown, L. D. Miller, and J. C. DuBose, intended primarily for school text-books, contain valuable information.

GEORGE PETRIE,

Professor of History and Latin, Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

Chapter III.

RECONSTRUCTION IN ALABAMA.

Conditions in Alabama After the War.

When the War of Secession ended, organized society in Alabama scarcely existed. The social and economic results of the war were appalling. It was estimated that 35,000 men had died in the military service, and that as many more were wounded or in broken health from hard service. Five years after the war the census of 1870 showed that the number of whites in Alabama was then about 100,000 less than it would have been had the population increased as it did between 1850 and 1860, and the black population was about 80,000 less than it should have been.

Destruction of Property.

Half a billion dollars worth of property, including slaves worth $200,000,000, had been lost; public buildings, railroads, steamboats, factories, banks and capital, money, farm implements and farm stock, mills and gins—all such accumulations of property had been partially or totally destroyed. North Alabama had been for three years the contending ground of both armies, and in twelve counties of that section property had almost disappeared. The raids of Rousseau in 1864, and of Wilson in 1865, carried destruction down from the northern part of the state to Central Alabama as far as Montgomery, and the invading armies coming up from Mobile in 1865 completed the wasting of the central and southern counties. Several towns, among them Selma, Decatur, Athens and Guntersville, were burned;

other towns, among them Huntsville, Florence, Courtland, Mobile and Montgomery, were partially destroyed. Thousands of dwellings along the paths of the raids had been burned and hundreds had been deserted. In North Alabama and in the southeastern counties, constituting over a third of the state, tories and deserters roamed and looted almost at will from the early part of 1864 to the latter part of 1865. After the surrender, the negroes in the Black Belt frequently seized what teams and supplies they found at hand and set out to join the Federals, thus helping to complete the ruin.

Confiscation Laws.

To make matters worse the Washington administration began a general enforcement of the Federal confiscation laws. In this the most unscrupulous agents were engaged, and many persons pretending to be Federal agents perpetrated frauds upon the people. Legally, all war supplies and cotton owned by the Confederate government were subject to confiscation by the United States government. But the treasury agents and pretended agents made little distinction between Confederate property and private property, and stole impartially from individuals and from the government. The Federal grand jury at Mobile, which, in 1865, investigated the confiscation frauds, reported that the agents stole in Alabama 125,000 bales of cotton, worth then at least $50,000,000, and that most of this was private property. Two of these cotton agents—T. C. A. Dexter and T. J. Carver—were tried and fined $90,000 and $250,000 respectively; the others escaped capture. The loss of the cotton removed the only important source of revenue still existing in the lower South.

Another burden felt for the next three years was

the Federal cotton tax. This tax was two and a half cents a pound in 1865, three cents in 1866, and two and a half cents in 1867. It was estimated that first and last the people of Alabama paid $15,000,000 of the cotton tax, of which $10,388,072.10 was paid before the cotton left the state.

Economic and Social Conditions.

The general economic collapse resulted in distressing destitution and suffering. Especially was this the case in the "white" counties where, during the war, there had been few negroes to raise supplies and whence had been recruited most of the state's quota of soldiers. Consequently the loss of life fell most heavily here, and here, also, the economic losses were most keenly felt, for in these districts there had been slenderer resources than in the Black Belt. Nowhere in the state was there a supply of money. The crops failed in 1865, and were poor for years after the war. Nowhere in the state was there plenty, and the bare necessities of life were lacking in many of the northern counties. There were several cases of starvation. In September, 1865, the state authorities reported that 139,000 whites were totally destitute and suffering. In December of that year the number had increased to 200,000, and in May, 1866, 80,000 widows and orphans alone were reported.

Society was in a disorganized state. Families were broken up; feuds and quarrels among neighbors had begun during the war, and still lasted; public opinion no longer had its proper influence in controlling and directing the social order. In North Alabama several thousand tories and deserters, persecuted and persecuting during the war, had now become practically outlaws, and over the entire state the lowest class of the population, recruited by the

scum of both armies, threatened a reign of lawlessness. The negroes added another element of insecurity to the situation. To test their newfound freedom they left, in great numbers, their former masters and flocked to the towns where the army posts were located and where the Freedmen's Bureau distributed scanty rations twice a week. Here disease and death in their closely packed quarters soon thinned their numbers, and the removal of the protecting influence of their masters left the race exposed to imposition by the low whites, and race friction began and continued.

Under such conditions the temper of the white people was sorely tried. The great majority were feeling the bitterness of defeat, while a few thousand "unionists" wanted vengeance for the persecution they had endured during the war. The soldiers were willing to accept in good faith the results of the war, but were sensitive to every appearance of a desire to humiliate them. The women had bitter memories of suffering and suspense endured, and of relatives lost. A class of noisy people, mostly critics of the war period, were searching for scapegoats and directing, especially through the local press, irritating language at the "Yankees." The arrest of Davis and other Confederate leaders, among whom were the Alabama war governors Moore, Shorter and Watts, checked the desire for reconciliation, and the coming in of Northern people as business men, speculators and missionaries served to complicate the situation. The Northern churches generally announced towards the formerly separate Southern organizations a policy of "disintegration and absorption." The Episcopal churches were closed for several months by the army and Bishop Wilmer suspended from his duties because he refused to pray for the President of the United States.

No State Organization.

Politically the state had no organization for a period of six months in the middle of 1865. During the latter part of 1864 and the spring of 1865 the Confederate government had gradually weakened, and in many parts of the state had gone to pieces. The surrender of the armies left the state without civil government. After the Federal occupation the military posts were few in number and widely separated. Over the most of the people there was no government from March to September, 1865. A sort of lynch law, an early manifestation of the Ku Klux movement, served to check in some degree the disorderly negroes, the horse thieves and outlaws.

Under such conditions reconstruction in Alabama began, and these conditions seriously influenced the course of the restoration of the state to the Union.

The Attempt at Restoration by President Johnson, 1865-1867

As soon as the Confederate government fell, in several districts of Alabama—in the Tennessee valley even before the news of Lee's surrender came—the people began to hold "reconstruction" meetings, at which they pledged to President Johnson their support of any plan of restoration that might be offered. Some wanted the President to appoint a governor; others wanted him to recognize Governor Watts and the legislature elected in 1863. A movement was started in central Alabama to have the legislature to convene and take steps to get the state back into the Union, but this was stopped by the military authorities.

Johnson, who had adopted in essentials the plan of reconstruction worked out by Lincoln, issued on May 29, 1865, a proclamation granting amnesty to all Confederates except the higher officials, civil and military. In May and June he appointed provi-

sional governors over the late Confederate states. In Alabama there were several candidates for the provisional governorship among those who had at some time opposed the Confederacy. The best known were William H. Smith, D. C. Humphreys and D. H. Bingham, all tories or deserters and none of them fitted to be governor. Lewis E. Parsons, who was finally appointed provisional or military governor on June 21, was a New Yorker by birth who had submitted to but had given slight support to the Confederacy. He was directed by the President to call a constitutional convention which should reorganize the state government and amend the constitution of 1861 to suit the changed conditions of 1865. At this time the various Federal offices were again opened in Alabama. During the summer Parsons called a convention to meet on September 10, proclaimed in force the laws of 1861, with the exception of those relating to slavery, and directed the Confederate local officials to resume and continue in office until superseded.

Before the end of September Parsons had in fair working order the state and local administrations, and was using his efforts with the President to secure the pardon of those who were excepted from the Amnesty Proclamation of May 29. His administration would have been stronger and more respected had it not been for the frequent interference of the President and the military authorities with the civil officials of Alabama, and for the interference of the Freedmen's Bureau in all matters relating to the negroes. The Freedmen's Bureau removed a whole race from the jurisdiction of the state government; the President and the army officers frequently reversed or disregarded the action of the state administration; consequently, the Parsons government was discredited and weakened.

Constitutional Convention.

The convention, which met in September, was a fairly respectable but not an able body. It was divided into violent Unionists and Confederate sympathizers, the latter being in the majority. During its short session of ten days it declared slavery abolished, repudiated the war debt and declared null and void the ordinance of secession. It admitted the negro to civil rights and ordered elections of state and county officers and members of Congress to be held during October and November.

The state gradually settled down, the elections were held, members of Congress chosen, and Robert M. Patton, a North Alabama man who had taken no part in the war or in the events leading to it, was elected governor. The legislature met on November 20 and proceeded at once to enact much needed legislation. On December 13 Patton was inaugurated; Governor Parsons and George S. Houston, a member of Congress before the war, were elected to the United States Senate. But neither the senators nor the congressmen-elect were admitted to seats by the radicals at Washington. Patton's administration from beginning to end, though recognized by the President, was constantly interfered with by the army officials, the Freedmen's Bureau and the President himself. It was merely a provisional government under the control of the President, just as Parson's administration had been. The legislature in 1865 and 1866, in addition to much other constructive work, endeavored to make a place in the social order for the emancipated blacks. It gave them civil, not political, rights—the right to hold property, to testify in court, to sue and be sued, to intermarry, etc. To check their alarming tendency to idleness and thieving and to prevent the enticing away of labor, strict laws were passed to prevent

vagrancy and to regulate the relations of employer and employed. This was the so-called "Black Code," which furnished the Northern politicians with so much campaign material.

Meanwhile the struggle between President Johnson and Congress, begun in December, 1865, was going on, and until that was decided the fate of the seceding states would be in doubt. For political and other reasons the Bureau agents and the missionaries, religious and educational, had begun to cause irritation between the blacks and the whites by their methods of inculcating the new doctrines of freedom and equality; the labor system was already demoralized by the unwise meddling of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the blacks, by the closing months of 1866, were wild for political equality.

Soon it was seen that Congress would win against the President, and over his veto the Civil Rights Act and a new Freedmen's Bureau Act were passed in 1866, and the proposed Fourteenth amendment sent out to the states for ratification or rejection.

In Alabama, in anticipation of the victory of Congress, the people, in 1866 and early in 1867, ranged themselves in two parties. The great majority of the whites, regardless of former political affiliations, united into the Conservative (later called the Democratic) party and endorsed the policy of President Johnson. A small number of the leading whites were willing to accept a limited negro suffrage if it could be tried under proper conditions; the majority were opposed to negro suffrage of any kind. About 15,000 whites, for various reasons, favored reconstruction by Congress, and for a few months most of them acted with the radical Republican party. The blacks were, in 1866-1867, organized by the carpet-baggers—white adventurers from the North—into a secret political society known as the Union

or Loyal League, and this organization held them safely for the radical Republican party.

Meanwhile the state legislature considered and rejected the proposed Fourteenth amendment on the ground that to ratify it would be humiliating to the legislature and to the people of Alabama, and disgraceful conduct toward those who would be disfranchised by it. Two years had passed since the close of the war, and now it was clear that the great problems were still to be settled. The negro question in politics was the disturbing factor. The President's plan had failed and his experiment drew to a close. Had it not been for the unsettling influence of politics the state would now have been in a fair way towards recovering from the results of war. As it was, nothing could be settled until Congress tried its plan.

Reconstruction by Congress, 1867-1868.

By the Reconstruction Acts of March 2 and 23, and July 19, 1867, Alabama, along with the other Southern states, was placed under military rule until the negroes and the whites who were not disfranchised could be enrolled and a new government organized on the basis of this new citizenship. Alabama, with Georgia and Florida, formed the Third Military District, which was commanded by Gen. John Pope, who had headquarters at Atlanta. The state was under the immediate command of Gen. Wager Swayne, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama from 1865 to 1868. Governor Patton was directed by Pope to continue the civil administration, subject to control by the military authorities.

During the summer of 1867 the registrars appointed by Pope rapidly carried on the enrollment of voters. The disfranchisement of whites included

practically all who had had experience in civil life, or held high office in the Confederate army—a total of 40,000 according to one estimate.

Constitutional Convention.

In October, 1867, elections were held under the direction of the military authorities for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. The whites were in the minority, without organization and leaders, and made no show against the blacks closely organized in the Union League and led by able and unscrupulous adventurers. Ninety-eight radicals, of whom eighteen were negroes and two conservatives, were elected to the convention. The white radicals were carpet-baggers and native "scalawags" of little note or ability. The carpet-baggers, with their negro followers, controlled the convention. The constitution framed by it was copied from Northern models, and was not remarkable except for its disfranchising provisions. The proceedings of the convention showed that the blacks had come under the control of the outsiders, and that, therefore, the native white radicals were much dissatisfied.

In February, 1868, the constitution was sent before the people for ratification; state and local officials were to be elected at the same time. About 75,000 whites and 93,000 blacks were registered; a majority of the registered voters, or about 84,000, must vote in the election or, according to the Reconstruction Act, the constitution would fail of adoption. Only 70,812 votes were cast, about 14,000 less than necessary. The whites had seemingly won by organizing their forces to stay away from the polls. But in June, in spite of the fact that under its own law reconstruction in Alabama was defeated, Congress voted to include the state with six other states in an act of readmission. So in July General Meade,

who had succeeded Pope, turned Patton out of office and put in his place William H. Smith, the radical governor-elect. The radical legislature met, senators and representatives—all new-comers to the state—were elected and admitted to Congress, and the state was again in the Union.

Carpet-Bag and Negro Rule, 1868-1874.

From June, 1868, to December, 1874, the state was in the hands of a ruling party composed mainly of negroes, with sufficient carpet-baggers and scalawags for leaders and office holders. The mass of whites representing intelligence and property had little influence in the government, which was inefficient and corrupt. The leaders of the blacks, in order to retain their control, kept alive the irritation between the races, and the whites secured protection by violent and revolutionary methods which, in time, caused a loss of respect for law.

During this period, in which the government was growing weaker and weaker, the general character of the state and local administration was, however, growing better. This was due partially to the fact that the officials chosen in 1868 were the poorest possible, and all changes could be only for the better. William H. Smith, the governor, was a Confederate deserter. He was weak, but though used by corrupt men was not himself corrupt; and although at the head of a negro party he wanted a white man's government, and did not favor the carpet-bag element. The other state officials and the members of Congress were, from 1868 to 1870, all carpet-baggers. In the first legislature, 1868-1870, the Senate had thirty-two radical members and one conservative; the House had ninety-seven radical and three conservative members. Since the local elections in 1868 had not been contested by the whites who

planned, by abstaining from voting, to defeat the constitution, the radicals had gained nearly all offices, both county and state. No other reconstructed state was afflicted at the beginning with such a uniformly bad lot of office holders. But in this condition lay the hope: the worst came first. In other states the reverse was true. At every subsequent election, office after office and county after county came into the control of the whites until nothing was left the radicals except the Black Belt. It was the same with the members of Congress, for gradually native whites—first scalawags, then conservatives—replaced the adventurers. This change was hastened by the growing breach between the scalawags and the carpet-baggers, and by the hostility between the former and the negroes. Only the support of the Federal troops kept the reconstruction administration in control. Governor Smith disliked negroes and would organize no negro militia, and thus the state was saved that humiliation; on the other hand he would organize no white troops, fearing lest they might overthrow his administration.

In 1870 the division in the radical party enabled the conservatives to elect as governor Robert B. Lindsay, a Scotchman by birth, who was well-intentioned but rather inefficient, and in politics colorless. He was unable to accomplish any but negative reforms, being opposed by a radical Senate and administration. Two years later the radicals were united, and Davis P. Lewis, a scalawag of considerable ability and decency, was elected. He was hostile to the corrupt elements of his party, but had no control over it or over his administration. Before the end of his term the government practically went to pieces from weakness and lack of support.

The misrule of reconstruction was, as stated, worst at first, gradually getting better as the whites

secured more and more control over the government. The worst abuses were in regard to the taxation, the finances, the endorsement of railroads and the schools. Under the first reconstruction administration the rate of taxation was increased from one-fifth of one per cent. on a portion of the wealth of the state in 1860 to three-fourths of one per cent. on all property in 1868, an increase which, considering the loss of property, was about eightfold. The state expenditures increased from $530,107 in 1860 to $2,081,649.39 in 1873. The bonded debt grew from $4,065,410 in 1866 to $30,037,563 in 1874, which, added to a city and county debt of about $12,000,000, amounted to about 65 per cent. of the value of the farm lands of the state. Property rapidly decreased in value and thousands of people emigrated to the West. Salaries of officials were doubled and the number of offices increased.

A great part of the public debt resulted from the fraudulent endorsement of new railroads. A law was passed in 1867 authorizing the endorsement by the state of the bonds of new railroads at the rate of $16,000 for each mile actually constructed. The roads secured the endorsement not only for what little they constructed but for hundreds of miles that were never built; one road alone—the Alabama and Chattanooga Railway—secured an endorsement of $5,300,000, of which $1,300,000 was fraudulent. The roads, with one exception, defaulted and left the state to pay interest on their bonds. The total liabilities due to the railroad frauds were never exactly known, because Governor Smith, under whom most of the endorsements were made, kept no records, but they were estimated at $14,000,000.

The school system begun in 1868 might, under different circumstances, have succeeded, but neither the administration nor the teaching force was com-

petent, and the system, borrowed from Northern states, was too complicated for Alabama. Dr. N. B. Cloud, the state superintendent of education, was not a person of ability or of strong character, and his assistants in his own office and in the counties were neither honest nor efficient. In several counties the school fund was embezzled by officers. Many of the teachers secured for the schools were those who came from the North or were taken from the Freedmen's Bureau schools. The whites objected to the views of history and the doctrines of social equality taught by some of the teachers, especially in the negro schools. For a while there was decided hostility to the schools, and the white children frequently were not allowed by their parents to attend. Later the more objectionable teachers were replaced, but by that time the finances were exhausted. The public school system never equalled in results the ante-bellum schools. As a result of a difficulty caused by the endeavor to graft the negro schools of the American Missionary Association into the Mobile system, the latter, which had flourished for twenty years, was practically destroyed. To the State University a radical faculty was supplied, but the attendance of students ceased and it was given back to conservative control. In 1870 a Democrat, Joseph H. Hodgson, became superintendent. He reorganized the system, but the educational fund was now bankrupt, and the public schools were turned into tuition schools. The radical legislature from the first persistently diverted the funds that, by the constitution, belonged to the schools. Speed, a radical, was elected superintendent in 1872, but there was no money and he could do nothing. By 1873 the shortage from the school fund amounted to $1,260,511.92, all of which had been illegally diverted by the legislature to other purposes.

For the churches also there was a reconstruction period. Throughout the period of political reconstruction the missionaries of the Northern churches worked to get a foothold in Alabama. They did not succeed in disintegrating the Southern organizations, for the only whites who joined them were the few "unionists" in north Alabama, but they did succeed in organizing the negroes into separate churches removed from any control by Southern whites. The close of the period left the Northern and Southern churches still unfriendly to each other.

Industrially, during the reconstruction period, the state as a whole did not prosper. The white counties showed signs of progress from the conditions of 1865, and in time attained the dominant industrial position that was formerly held by the Black Belt. The latter, with uncontrolled and undirected negro labor, fell into economic decline. Cities, mines, factories and good crops after this time were found only in the white counties. Free negro labor was not as efficient as slave labor had been. Freed from the competition of efficient slave labor on fertile soil, the whites began to make headway; they, rather than the blacks, were emancipated by the destruction of slavery.

The Overthrow of Reconstruction and the Readjustment.

As already stated, the control of local government in the white districts after the first elections in 1868 passed gradually into the hands of the whites, the state government and the Black Belt counties remaining under the control of the radicals. The whites used not only the legal means of ousting the latter, but also at times revolutionary and violent methods. The radicals, at every election under their control, had used fraudulent methods, and the white man's party, in turn, used similar methods; the

Union League, which held the blacks in line, was opposed and broken up by the Ku Klux movement, a secret organized movement which succeeded by frightening and intimidating the negroes, who were thus made to stay away from the polls. After the solid ranks of the blacks were broken, the power of the radicals rapidly declined.

The final overthrow of the reconstruction party was accomplished in 1874. The state administration was weak; the radical party was seriously divided —carpet-bagger, scalawag and negro, each demanding more than the others could or would give. The Democrats or Conservatives, stimulated by victory in other states, were well organized and well led, and were determined to endure no longer the rule of the radicals. The race issue now became an important one and united the whites, for most of the whites in the radical party deserted when race lines were drawn. The blacks, having lost confidence in their leaders, did not vote in full strength. George S. Houston, Democrat, was elected governor, and the state has since been controlled by the white man's party.

The radicals were soon driven out of the Black Belt counties, their last stronghold, the Republican party declined in power and the number of its white members decreased until it became merely an organization to secure Federal offices. The whites have remained solidly Democratic, all second party movements failing because of the fear of the potential negro vote. The races were left unfriendly by reconstruction, and the churches and schools still feel the injury of the policies then pursued. The whites have shown an increasing disposition to follow leaders who hold extreme views on the race question, but the negro, the unwilling cause of reconstruction, has suffered most from its results.

The radicals did not give up their control over Alabama in 1874 without a fight. A committee of Congress was sent to investigate conditions and to find out why the political change had been made. The report of this committee was in the usual radical spirit, but it was too late now to use the "outrage" issue, and the whites of Alabama were left to work out their own salvation. The first legislature under Governor Houston set about the readjustment; the number of officials was reduced, salaries scaled down, and retrenchment began in every place. It is said that one could not borrow a sheet of paper at the state house. As nearly as possible the carpet-bag laws were repealed, a commission was appointed with authority to adjust the public debt, a memorial against the seating of George E. Spencer was sent to the United States Senate, and a convention ordered for the purpose of framing a new constitution.

The Convention of 1875 met at Montgomery in September and was in session less than a month. The strongest men of the state were members, and L. P. Walker, formerly Confederate secretary of war, was made president. The obnoxious features of the Constitution of 1868 were repealed, and a constitution adopted that the people regarded as legal and as their own. Biennial instead of annual legislatures were ordered, taxation was limited, and state and local aid to railroads, etc., was forbidden. The mingling of races in schools, etc., and by intermarriage, was prohibited by law.

The debt commission had a heavy task and took several years to complete it. The total amount of state obligations was about $32,000,000. Payment of fraudulent debts was refused; others more or less tainted were scaled, and the rate of interest was reduced. The creditors of the state were satisfied with what the commissioners offered. The debt, after

all adjustments, amounted to $12,000,000. Soon the state securities were selling at par and the treasury was not embarrassed.

Education prospered with the return of home rule. The law ordered the separation of races, and the whites were no longer hostile to the school system. For the first time since the war the teachers were paid promptly. School funds came from three sources—state appropriation, local taxation and tuition fees. The State University was revived, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Auburn was developed.

For several years the Democrats devoted their efforts to rooting out the carpet-bag office holders who still had control of the Black Belt. By skilful gerrymandering, all of the congressional districts, except one, were made safely Democratic. The legislature reduced the salaries and curtailed the powers of the carpet-bag officials in the black counties. Official ballots were adopted and a residence of thirty days required before voting. In 1876 the Republicans polled only 55,582 votes to 99,235 for the Democrats. Tilden and Hendricks carried the state in that year. At this time the last partisan investigation of affairs was made by a committee of Congress. In 1878 the Republican Convention, consisting principally of negroes, made no nominations for state offices, but advised that the Greenback ticket be supported. In 1880 the situation was similar. The negroes were confused by the suspension of the Republican party, and in great numbers voted for Democrats in the local elections. When there was no radical candidate in the field several Democrats would run for the same office—a "scrub" race, it was called. The attitude of the people toward the central government and the North grew more friendly, though for several years there was com-

plaint of the annoyances of the deputy marshals and the United States commissioners who were stationed in the state.

When it was certain that the whites were again in secure control of the state, political questions became less important and economic problems pressed forward for solution. A healthy development of the railroads followed the collapse of the Reconstruction era, and with development came questions of rates and regulations. The white county farmers, emancipated from competition with slave labor, now prospered. The mineral district was being developed in the late seventies, and in south Alabama the great forests of pine were being cut for lumber. Conditions were not prosperous in the Black Belt where the quality of labor had so deteriorated; the negro laborers were drawn off in such number to work on the railroads and to go to Texas that the legislature passed a law taxing immigration agents. "Sunset" laws were passed to prevent the theft of farm produce. The prohibition movement began in 1875, and never ceased to grow. Beginning with the seventies the farmers began to organize into "granges" or Patrons of Husbandry. Congress finally began work designed to open Mobile harbor, which had not been in good condition since 1864. In 1880 the state was in much worse condition than in 1860, but it was again in the hands of its best people, and progress, however slow, was certain.

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WALTER L. FLEMING,
Professor of History, Louisiana State University.

Chapter IV.

THE NEW ALABAMA, 1880-1909.

Condition of Alabama in 1880.

The year 1880, though differing in no marked respect from the years immediately preceding and following it, is a convenient one from which to date the rise of the new Alabama. Six years had elapsed since the overthrow of the carpet-bag régime and the restoration of the government into the hands of those to whom it had formerly belonged. The permanence of the restoration seemed assured, and the state had now fairly entered upon a period of retrenchment and recuperation. Through careful supervision expenditures had been greatly diminished, a balance had accumulated in the treasury, and the rate of taxation for state purposes had been reduced. The enormous public debt, which was a legacy of the reconstruction period, and which from 1874 to 1876 had offered so many perplexing problems to the commission appointed to deal with it, was now almost completely readjusted, and the state by means entirely creditable had passed from bankruptcy to good financial standing. Five years had passed since the constitution of 1868, thrust upon the people by a radical Congress, had been superseded by a frame of government more to their liking, though still embodying many features of the congressional system of reconstruction, and by 1880 the new administrative machinery had become well adjusted in all its parts and was working smoothly.

And not only in Alabama's political history, but also in the story of its industrial development, the year 1880 marks a convenient turning point. Bir-

mingham was only a farm at the close of the War of Secession, and when incorporated as a city in 1871 had only twelve hundred inhabitants; but it was now beginning to justify the optimism of its founders. The famous Pratt mines had opened in 1879, the mineral wealth of the district was becoming known to capitalists, and the population of the city between 1871 and 1880 had increased threefold. Anniston, however, was still a village hardly known save in its own county, and Bessemer and Sheffield were yet unborn. In 1870 only 11,000 tons of coal were mined in the state; in 1880 the product was 323,972 tons, and in 1885, 2,494,000 tons.

Southern and central Alabama were undergoing no such rapid development. In the southernmost counties the lumber industry was prospering, but in the central tier of counties known as the "Black Belt," where the richest lands of the state are situated, the prosperity of ante-bellum days had not returned. Owners of large plantations were frequently selling their lands, or else leasing them under the share-tenant system and emigrating to other regions. Of the negroes, too, there was a noticeable emigration, many going to Texas and others seeking employment in the mineral belt of northern Alabama. The farm acreage of the state in 1880, although it had increased more than a fourth during the preceding decade, was still less than it had been in 1860. The value of farm property in 1880 was also less than it had been in 1860, but it was over a third greater than in 1870. The war had been followed by a period of depression in agriculture which reached its maximum in the seventies, but by 1880 there were unmistakable signs of improvement. The yield of cotton, the principal crop, clearly illustrates the agricultural conditions between 1860 and 1880. In the former year the product of Alabama was

989,955 bales; in 1870 it had declined to 429,482 bales, but by 1880 it had risen to 699,654 bales.

It is evident, therefore, that with the restoration of autonomous government, the substitution of conservatism and economy for radicalism and extravagance in state administration, the rise of new industries in northern Alabama, and the gradual recovery of agriculture from the depression following the war, the state, in 1880, was facing the dawn of a new era, brightened by the signs of political peace, industrial development and intellectual progress.

Politics.

In 1880 the political complexion of the state had been Democratic for six years. The Republicans then retained control of only a few counties in the Black Belt, and in this year they placed no state ticket in the field. The party leaders, however, urged the Republican voters to support the Greenback ticket, and this attempt at fusion caused them to lose their greatest stronghold. One district in northern Alabama was carried by the Greenback-Republican candidate for Congress, but on the general state ticket the Democrats were victorious by a majority of 90,000. From this time forward the largest Democratic majorities usually came from the counties with the largest proportion of negroes, while those counties with a very small negro population were generally carried by the Republicans. In 1882 the Republicans of the state again supported the Greenback ticket and thereafter showed very little activity until 1888, when they were encouraged to some extent by a growing disaffection among the Democrats. As early as 1886 the solidity of the white voters began to be threatened by the general discontent of the agricultural class. There had been a number of farmers' organizations, such as

"granges" and agricultural "wheels," in the state for years, but in 1886 these were being supplanted by the Farmers' Alliance. A central state Alliance was organized in 1889, and in the following year there were societies in every county and the organization went actively into politics as a radical faction of the Democratic party. At the Democratic state convention in May its representatives supported Reuben F. Kolb, the commissioner of agriculture and a prominent Alliance member, as their candidate for governor. There were four other candidates for the nomination, among whom the votes of Kolb's opponents were divided. On the first ballot Kolb received 235 votes, and all the others combined only 285. Thirty-three ballots were taken without breaking the deadlock, but on the thirty-fourth the conservative element, hoping to prevent a division of the party by the Alliance, united in the support of Thomas G. Jones, who then received 271 votes to Kolb's 255, and was declared the nominee. There was now a serious breach in the Democratic ranks; on the one side were ranged the Kolb men with the machinery of the Farmers' Alliance at their command, on the other were the conservative Democrats, with their old leaders and with the support of the regular party organization.

The contest, however, had hardly begun. Shortly after Governor Jones had assumed his office the examiner of public accounts had reported a number of minor irregularities in Kolb's conduct of the office of commissioner of agriculture. The governor took no action on the case, and the commissioner was not at all injured among his adherents by the report; in fact he rather gained additional sympathy from them as the victim of what they believed to be political canards. In September, 1891, Kolb's term as commissioner of agriculture expired, the legislature

having previously made the office elective, and as his successor had not yet been chosen, Governor Jones appointed Hector D. Lane to fill the vacancy during the interim. Kolb, however, refused to surrender his office on the ground that the legislature, in making it elective, had revoked the power of the governor to fill it at any time by appointment. Lane brought suit to oust Kolb in an inferior court of Montgomery county, but lost his case. An appeal was then taken to the state Supreme Court, by which the decision of the lower court was reversed. The chief effect of these events was to embitter the factions and to make Kolb a greater idol than ever in the eyes of the Alliance men.

Although it was at this time a kind of unwritten law among the Democrats that each of their governors was entitled to two terms, or four years in office, Kolb determined to seek vindication by again opposing Jones for the Democratic nomination. The primary elections held in 1892 for the choice of delegates to the state convention resulted favorably for Jones, but the Alliance men declared that this result had been accomplished by fraud, and, believing that their leader would not receive fair treatment in the Democratic convention, they resolved to hold one of their own. There were consequently two conventions, two platforms and two tickets, and both factions declared themselves to be the real Democracy.

The platform of the Alliance faction was extreme in its advocacy of radical measures, among its demands being the abolition of the national banking system, the expansion of the currency to not less than fifty dollars per capita, the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and reform in the methods of taxation and in the convict lease system. The returns from the state election in August gave Jones a majority of 11,000, but Kolb claimed that he had been

defeated by fraud, and that he was entitled to a majority of 40,000. It was undeniable that he had carried most of the white counties, and that Jones owed his election to the large majorities in the Black Belt, to obtain which must have necessitated the voting of negroes in large numbers. The Alliance men declared that the result of the Black Belt elections was due to the absolute control of the polls in these counties by their opponents. The situation was so anomalous that the regular election law failed entirely to meet the case. It provided for three inspectors at each polling place, two of whom were to be of different political parties, but as the Kolb and Jones men both claimed to be Democrats, this provision of the law apparently did not apply to their contest. The Alliance men then decided to contest the election before the legislature, but finding that there was no legal provision for such a proceeding, they attempted to persuade the governor to summon the legislature in special session for the enactment of a law to meet the emergency. When Governor Jones rejected the proposition the two factions became irreconcilable.

On account of President Cleveland's sympathies with the conservative faction, the Kolb men were even alienated from the national Democratic organization. They now adopted the name of "Jeffersonian Democrats," and on Sept. 15, 1892, met in convention in Birmingham to nominate candidates for Congress and a list of presidential electors. The Populist party, organized in the state about four months previously, also met in Birmingham at this time, and the two organizations coalesced, chose their candidates, and drafted a platform denouncing the Cleveland administration, demanding free coinage of silver, a currency circulation equal to fifty dollars per capita, an income tax, lower tariff rates

and the abolition of national banks and alien ownership of land. Many of Kolb's followers were not willing to go so far from their old party, for which they still felt some attachment, and consequently the third party ticket did not show the same strength in the November elections that the Kolb gubernatorial ticket had shown in the preceding August. When the legislature met in the following winter the Kolb members were in the minority and sought in vain to bring the contested election before that body. Their efforts, however, were not entirely fruitless, for it was largely on account of their cry of fraud that a law was passed providing for a modified form of the Australian ballot. Under the system of voting thus adopted, the voter who could not read might be assisted in marking his ballot either by one of the inspectors of the election, to be chosen by himself, or by a person selected for this purpose by the inspectors. This last provision, it will be seen, rendered many of the advantages of the Australian ballot nugatory, and in some instances perhaps even facilitated fraud.

The contest between the regular and the Jeffersonian Democrats by 1894 had reached its bitterest stage, and the political excitement throughout the state was intense. The Jeffersonians again put forward Kolb as their candidate, and adopted a platform similar to that of 1892. Their ticket received the endorsement of both the Populists and the Republicans. The Democrats nominated William C. Oates for governor, and in spite of the coalition against him he received a majority of 27,000; Kolb's defeat, therefore, according to the official returns, being more decisive than in 1892. Nevertheless the Jeffersonians again raised the cry of fraud; many were sufficiently violent in their feelings to urge resist-

ance, and on Oates' inauguration day some of them went through the form of inaugurating Kolb governor on the streets in front of the capitol. The state thus passed through the greatest political excitement it had experienced since the days of reconstruction.

After the panic of 1893 the discontent of the small farmer class, which had made possible the Kolb movement, gradually spread to other classes, and by 1896 had contributed powerfully to creating a new party alignment. In the period 1894-96 the price of cotton and iron, the staple products of southern and northern Alabama, continually declined; labor was idle, factories and furnaces were shutting down, farmers were heavily in debt and merchants were unable to make their collections. It was inevitable, therefore, that the demand of the debtor class for more and cheaper money, which had been heard for a number of years, should spread rapidly; and Alabama, like the other Southern states, was soon swept with the free-silver craze. The conservative element now found itself greatly in the minority. The haste with which the regular Democrats accepted an issue which the Jeffersonians had already advocated did much to heal the breach within the party.

The two candidates for the regular Democratic nomination in 1896 were R. H. Clarke, a gold Democrat, and Joseph F. Johnston, a free-silver advocate. The latter was nominated and was elected by a large majority. His free-silver views won for him the support of many Populists and much larger numbers of former Jeffersonians, while the irreconcilables among the latter faction supported the Populist candidate for governor, A. T. Goodwyn, who also had the support of the Republicans. In both the Populist and the Republican parties there was

much opposition to fusion this year, but an agreement was finally reached whereby the Republicans were allowed to name the candidates for secretary of state and attorney-general, and the Populists were to nominate the rest of the state ticket. At the national election in November the party alignment was very complicated. The Populists, who were allied with the Republicans in the state elections in August, now supported Bryan for the presidency; the Democrats were divided on the free-silver issue, and the Republicans alone were free from party division and entangling alliances. The strength of the various parties is indicated by the popular vote for president: the vote cast for Bryan and Sewall was 107,137; for Bryan and Watson, 24,089; for McKinley and Hobart, 54,737, and for Palmer and Buckner, 6,462. Though the vote for the "gold Democratic" ticket was small, it was drawn from a very intelligent class of citizens. Large numbers of Democrats, moreover, supported Bryan without accepting his currency views.

From the foregoing it will appear that, in 1896, the Populist party was no longer seriously challenging Democratic supremacy. It had been preeminently the party of the small farmer, and its strength had lain in the prejudice of this class against nearly all other classes. The revolt of the mass of the Democratic party in the state against Grover Cleveland, and their enthusiasm for free-silver, had brought many Populists back into the Democratic fold. Moreover, the fusion of the Populist and Republican parties was not conducive to the growth of the former; on account of the prejudice of the small farmer class toward the negro, the alliance of the "People's" and the "black man's" parties was to many very distasteful. The Populist movement had also encountered an insurmount-

able obstacle in the Black Belt. It is safe to assume that but for the heavy Democratic vote polled in this part of the state, Alabama would have been swept by a tide of Populism. In the late sixties and early seventies the Black Belt had been a Republican stronghold. After 1880, as already stated, the situation was reversed. Twelve Black Belt counties, in 1872, gave a Republican majority of 26,619; in 1892, a Democratic majority of 26,246, and in 1894 of 34,454.* In 1892-94 the Populists were successful only where the proportion of negro voters was relatively small. The large Democratic vote in the Black Belt was due chiefly to the influence wielded over the colored voter by the dominant white class, the negroes as a rule voting the ticket favored by their employers. There is no doubt, however, that the manipulation of election returns was well-nigh universal in the Black Belt while the Kolb movement menaced the supremacy of this region. The Democratic state conventions were usually dominated by the Black Belt men, though the number of real Democrats whom these men represented was very small. Moreover, during the political ascendency of the Black Belt, the negro population of the region was increasing much more rapidly than the white. In 1900 there were in the centre of the state twelve counties in which there were three times as many negroes as whites, and during the preceding decade the negro population of these counties increased at the rate of 17 per cent., while the increase of the whites had been only about 10 per cent. It is not very inaccurate, then, to designate the Black Belt counties in this period as the "rotten boroughs" of Alabama. The only question

*See the *Nation*, Vol. 59, pp. 211 ff., for a very interesting discussion of Black Belt politics in 1892-94.

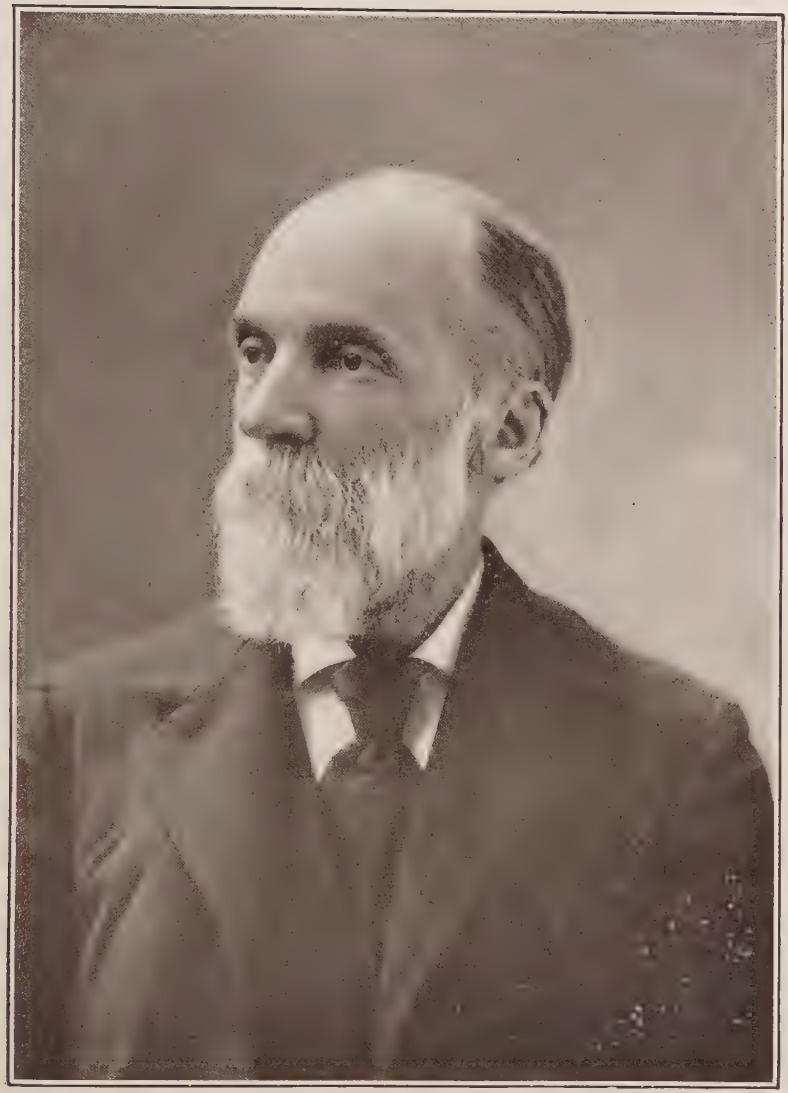
was how long the rest of the state would submit to such an arrangement.

Spanish-American War.

From this narrative of the political history of the state, it is necessary to digress for a moment to show the part played by Alabama in the Spanish-American War. The state furnished three regiments, one of which was colored, and President McKinley appointed two ex-Confederates of Alabama, Joseph Wheeler and William C. Oates, respectively major-general and brigadier-general of United States volunteers. At the battle of Santiago General Wheeler was in command of all the cavalry, and later he served with much distinction in the Philippines. It was another source of pride to the people of Alabama that Richmond Pearson Hobson, the young naval officer who sank the collier *Merrimac* in the mouth of Santiago harbor, was a native son of their state. The war showed that American patriotism was nowhere stronger than in Alabama among the men and the sons of the men who had once fought to divide the Union.

The Negro in Politics.

The failure of the Kolb movement had fully demonstrated the impracticability of contesting the ascendency of the Black Belt so long as the negro remained a factor in politics. The benefit to the negro of the suffrage may be readily imagined when Governor Johnston, in his message of May 2, 1899, declared, "There is not a negro in all the commonwealth holding office under the present constitution, * * * nor has there been for nearly a generation." But this statement, which the governor had put forward as an argument against any revision of the existing constitution so as to disfranchise the



JOSEPH H WHEELER.

negro, was to the advocates of disfranchisement a proof that the intimidation and fraud used to accomplish this result should give way to legal methods. The legislature, at its session of 1898-99, ordered an election to decide whether a convention should be held to revise the suffrage clauses in the constitution. The governor approved the act, but later he decided that he had erred, and in May he summoned a special session of the legislature which repealed the measure. For his action in this matter he was much criticized by the members of his party, and at the state convention in Montgomery, in 1900, they not only failed to follow the usual precedent of endorsing the outgoing Democratic administration, but they also declared themselves in favor of the convention, asserting, however, that no white man should be disfranchised, nor the constitution of the United States be violated by the convention's action. The question of holding this convention was the main issue before the people at the state election in August, and the result showed that the next legislature would favor the proposition. The Populist party had now noticeably declined; there was no fusion this year between it and the Republicans, and the Democratic ticket was elected by a majority of 70,000.

New Constitution.

The legislature, at its next session, authorized a special election to decide the question of a constitutional convention. The vote was taken on the 23d of April, 1901, and resulted in a majority for the convention of 24,000. On the 21st of May this body, consisting of 155 delegates, of whom all but fourteen were Democrats, met in Montgomery and sat continuously, with only one week's intermission, until the 3d of September. The chief problem before it was to secure the disfranchisement of the negro

on grounds other than those prohibited by the United States constitution, and at the same time to deprive no white man of the ballot. To accomplish this purpose it took advantage of certain social and economic differences between the races, which would permit the exclusion of the negro from the suffrage for reasons other than those of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The right to vote, therefore, was made dependent, first, on a long term of residence; secondly, on the payment of all poll taxes due from the voter since 1901; and thirdly, upon the ability to read and write any part of the Federal constitution in the English language, and upon the pursuit of some lawful occupation during the greater part of the previous year, or upon the ownership of forty acres of land or three hundred dollars worth of property. These provisions, if rigidly enforced, would disfranchise nearly every negro voter in the state, and a great many white voters as well; but the convention fulfilled its promise to disfranchise no white man by adopting temporary "grandfather" and "good character" clauses, which gave the right of permanent registration before Dec. 20, 1902, first, to soldiers and sailors who had served in the War of 1812 or any subsequent war of the United States, and to their lawful descendants; and secondly, to persons who were of good character and understood the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government. Among the other changes which were embodied in the new frame of government were the substitution of quadrennial for biennial sessions of the legislature, the provision for a lieutenant-governor, the restriction of special legislation and of the power of municipalities to contract indebtedness, and the extension of the terms of elective state officers from two to four years, with the provision that none should be eligible for a sec-

ond term, and that the governor might hold no state office nor enter the United States Senate within a year after the expiration of his term. The state tax rate was reduced from seventy-five to sixty-five cents on every hundred dollars worth of property, thirty cents of which, or nearly one-half, was to be applied to the support of public schools. The new constitution was adopted in the convention by a vote of 132 to 12, one Democrat voting against it. On the 11th of November it was submitted to a vote of the people and was adopted by a majority of 26,879.

Thus was enacted the final scene in the "undoing of reconstruction" in Alabama. All the evidences of submission to the radical programme of Congress in the sixties and seventies, which had been included in the constitution of 1875, namely, the denial of the principle of secession, the declaration that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and residing in Alabama were citizens of the state, and the prohibition of educational or property qualifications for the suffrage or office holding, did not appear in the new instrument. The effect of the new requirements for voting was readily seen in the following year in the registration of voters; the number of negroes registering in this year being about 2,500, while the registration of white voters amounted to about 180,000. With the disfranchisement of the negro disappeared the political ascendency of the Black Belt. In Montgomery county, the most populous part of this region, only twenty-seven negroes registered in 1902, out of a total colored population of about 52,000.*

A test case was soon brought in the courts to determine the constitutionality of the new suffrage clauses. A negro named J. W. Giles brought suit in

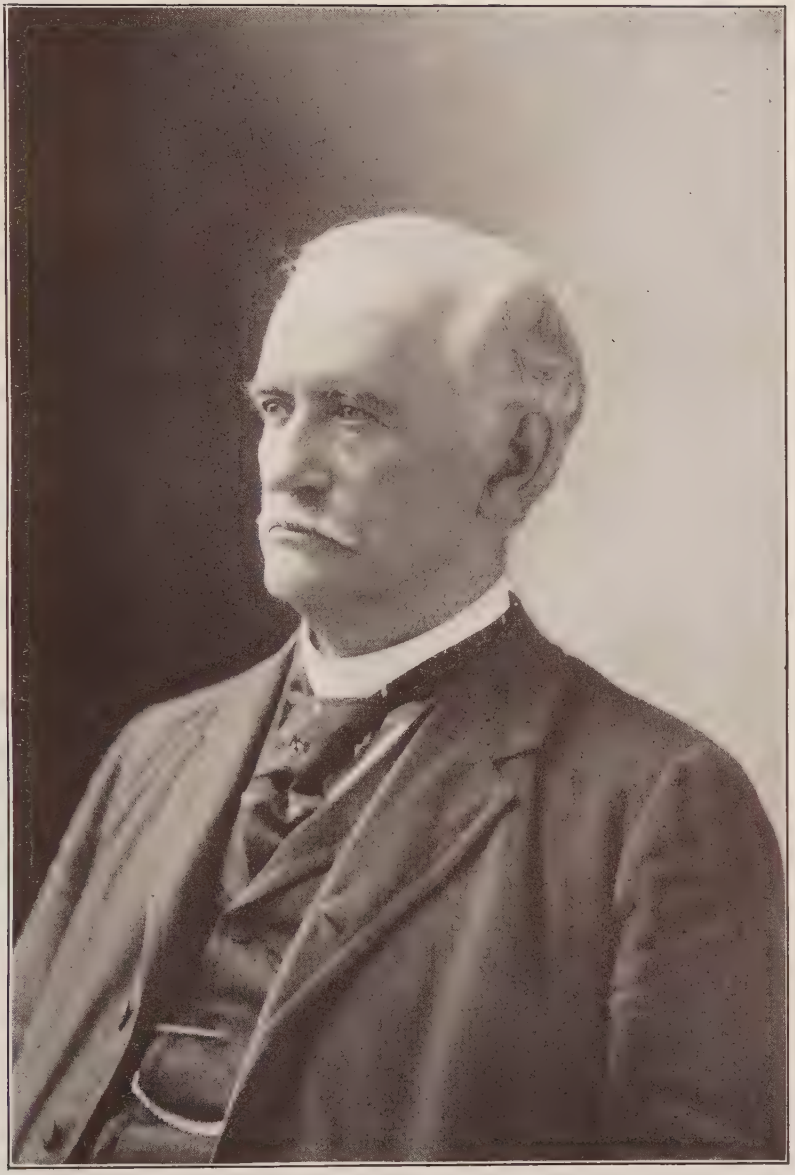
*See the *International Yearbook* for 1902. The total registration in 1904 was 208,932, the colored registration being 3,654.

the United States circuit court against the registrars of Montgomery county, seeking to compel them to allow him to register as a voter. In his suit he alleged that the suffrage clauses in the constitution of Alabama were repugnant to the constitution of the United States. In 1903 the case reached the United States Supreme Court, which decided against the plaintiff, declaring, first, that he asked to be registered under a law which he himself asserted to be "unconstitutional in fact and fraudulent in intent"; and secondly, that the plaintiff asked the court to undertake a task beyond its jurisdiction; the alleged injury was political, and the remedy should also be political.

A peculiar innovation in 1906 was the nomination by the Democratic party in its primaries of "alternate senators," who were to succeed the venerable senators Morgan and Pettus in case they should fail to serve out their complete terms. In the following year both of these revered statesmen died, and, in obedience to the will of his party, Governor Comer appointed former Congressman J. H. Bankhead and ex-Governor Johnston, who had polled the highest number of votes in the contest for "alternates," to the vacant seats.

Governor Comer's Administration.

The contest for the governorship among the Democrats in 1906 was full of excitement. In the primaries B. B. Comer, the anti-railway and anti-corporation candidate, defeated his more conservative opponent, R. M. Cunningham, the lieutenant-governor, and was elected without serious opposition. The Comer administration began in January, 1907, and immediately concerned itself with the regulation of the railways. The Alabama legislature, like that of about a score of other states, passed laws re-



JOHN T. MORGAN.

ducing passenger rates. When the Southern Railway sought to secure an injunction from the Federal court, restraining the state officials from enforcing the rate law until its constitutionality could be decided, the charter of the road was declared forfeited under the terms of a law forbidding appeal from a state to a Federal court, and the railway officials agreed to a compromise. Other roads, however, under the protection of a Federal injunction, successfully resisted the law, and in November the governor convened the legislature in extraordinary session to determine, as he said, whether the railways or the people should rule the state. A large number of new bills for fixing rates were passed, and these were supposed to be "injunction proof," inasmuch as they prohibited, on pain of heavy fines, all appeals from the state to the Federal courts. The legislature had hardly adjourned, however, before the enforcement of the rate laws was effectively prevented by Federal injunction. The hostility to the railways was strongest among the same classes that in 1892 were aligned with the Kolb movement, and it was a remarkable coincidence that Thomas G. Jones, the man who, as candidate for governor, then led the conservative forces of his state against the revolt, in 1907, as Federal district judge, was again called upon to check the spirit of radicalism within Alabama.

Material Progress.

After this review of the principal political movements in the state from 1880 to 1909, it may be well to describe the material and educational progress during the same period. In spite of the remarkable increase in mines and factories, agriculture remained the leading industry. The cotton crop alone, in 1906, was worth over seventy-three millions of dollars, an amount four times as great as the value

of the state's coal product for that year, and over two and a half times as great as the value of its product of pig iron. The cotton crop in 1880 was 699,654 bales; in 1890, 915,210 bales; in 1900, 1,106,840 bales, and in 1904, 1,461,990 bales; the product for this last year being the greatest in the history of the state. In the amount of cotton produced in 1880, 1890 and 1900, Alabama was surpassed by only three other states. The total value of farm products increased from $56,872,994 in 1879 to $91,387,409 in 1899. The value of farm property increased 36 per cent. from 1870 to 1880, 37 per cent. from 1880 to 1890, and 22 per cent. from 1890 to 1900. Though the total farm acreage showed very little increase between 1880 and 1900, there was a striking increase in the number of farms and a decrease in their size, an indication, perhaps, that agriculture was becoming more intensive. The average size of an Alabama farm in 1860 was 346.5 acres, in 1880, 138.8 acres, and in 1900, 93 acres. It is less encouraging, however, to observe that after 1880 the proportion of farms operated by their owners steadily decreased. In 1900 about one-fourth of the farms of the state were operated by share tenants, and a third by cash tenants, but the proportion of share tenants was much smaller than in many other Southern states. The amount of improved farm land was steadily increasing, and after 1900 more and more attention was given to diversified farming and to the raising of improved breeds of live stock. Scientific methods, once ridiculed, were replacing the crude systems of cultivation employed by previous generations, and the farmers, as a class, were more prosperous in 1908 than they had been at any time since 1860.

In the development of its mines and manufactures the state also made remarkable progress after 1880. Between 1900 and 1905 the value of its factory

products increased over 50 per cent., and the capital invested in these industries increased over 75 per cent. During this five-year period the value of the lumber and timber products of the state increased over 27 per cent., the iron and steel products over 40 per cent., and the cotton factory products 105 per cent. There were six steel works and rolling mills in the state in 1900 and ten in 1905; the number of spindles in its cotton mills in 1900 was 411,328; in 1907, 876,944. In 1906 Alabama ranked third in the production of iron ore, fourth in the production of pig iron, and fifth in the production of bituminous coal. The development of the great coal and iron industries after 1880 was very rapid. The production of coal in Alabama is recorded as early as 1834, and there was a desultory working of coal beds until about 1870, when the production was 11,000 short tons. From this date there was a steady increase until, in 1906, the total product was 13,107,963 tons, valued at $17,514,786. It has been estimated that the Warrior Coal Field alone, embracing an area of about 3,000 square miles in north central Alabama, contains enough coal to supply the world for nearly three centuries. Iron, like coal, was produced on a small scale in Alabama before 1870, especially during the war. A furnace was built in Franklin county about 1818, and was worked for several years. The modern industry, however, came in with the increased production of coal, and its progress was facilitated by the presence of rich limestone deposits in the vicinity of the furnaces. The output of pig iron in the state in 1906 was valued at $28,450,000.

Educational Progress.

But the progress of the state was not confined solely to material affairs. In educational matters

there was the same notable advance. Between 1880 and 1906 the school enrollment increased 209 per cent.; the proportion of school population enrolled increased from 42 to 60 per cent., and the sum expended on public schools increased 300 per cent. In 1907 the legislature made more liberal appropriations for educational purposes than ever before in the history of the state. Each county received an annual grant of a thousand dollars for the erection and repair of rural school houses; the regular sum for the support of public schools was supplemented by an additional appropriation of $300,000 for 1908, and of $350,000 for each succeeding year; a special appropriation was made for the establishment of a high school in every county, and two new normal schools were established. Nearly all the other state educational institutions received increased appropriations. In addition to the special state tax for school purposes, forty counties, by 1907, were levying school taxes to supplement the regular state fund.

Prohibition.

On the first day of the year 1908 another important social movement within the state almost reached its culmination. Fifty of the sixty-seven counties, by this date, had prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors within their limits. For over twenty years the legislature at every session had been granting to various localities the right to vote on the question of prohibition within their respective jurisdictions, and as a result the no-license system under local option had become widely extended. A general local option law passed at the regular session of 1907 had greatly facilitated the progress of the movement, and when the legislature reconvened in special session in the autumn public sentiment against the liquor traffic was so strong that a new law was

passed prohibiting the sale of liquors within the entire state after the 1st of January, 1909. Alabama was thus the second Southern state to adopt statutory prohibition, Georgia having taken the lead.

This brief story of the progress of the state seems amply to justify the title of "the New Alabama" which has been given to this chapter. But while it is correct to say that a new commonwealth arose after 1880, it should also be borne in mind that the new order was not too much unlike the old. Industrial development, indeed, wrought great changes, but in its ideals and sympathies the society of the state still remained all that is implied by the term "Southern."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—No comprehensive history of the state for this period exists. Certain phases of the state's history after 1880 are dealt with in Brant and Fuller's *Memorial Record of Alabama*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1893). Among the numerous smaller works, intended chiefly for school use, consult William Garrott Brown's *History of Alabama* (New York, 1900), Thomas M. Owen's *Annals of Alabama*, published as a supplement to an edition of A. J. Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Birmingham, 1900), Joel C. Du Bose's *Sketches of Alabama History* (Philadelphia, 1901), L. D. Miller's *History of Alabama* (Birmingham, 1901), and John W. Beverly's *History of Alabama for the Use of Schools* (Montgomery, 1901). Much useful information concerning the material progress of the state may be obtained from the files of the *Manufacturers' Record* (Baltimore).

WILLIAM O. SCROGGS,
Assistant Professor of History, Louisiana State University.

THE HISTORY OF MISSISSIPPI.

Chapter I.

COLONIAL AND TERRITORIAL TIMES.

The Land of the Aborigines.

MISSISSIPPI has not had a continuous history in the same way as England, France or Spain, but the boundaries, especially on the south and west, are natural, and the peoples who have flourished there have all left their impress. There are Indian, French, British and Spanish elements in her make-up, and in a sense the American is the heir, if not a combination, of his predecessors, working out the old problem of civilization under new conditions.

Geography.

The physical basis of history consists principally of the soil, water courses and climate. Looking at a map of North America we find that while the Mississippi River receives tributaries on the west from its source to its mouth, there is on the east no large affluent south of the Ohio River. Thus there is a large coast region north of the Mexican Gulf whose drainage is directly southward from the Appalachian range, whose foothills make up a watershed which not only throws the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers northward to the Ohio, but is the source of many streams which seek the Gulf of Mexico.

The drainage, then, is from north to south, more or less parallel with the Mississippi. The watershed is one thousand feet high in the Pontotoc ridge, and gradually becoming lower as it runs south in several divisions. These give rise to considerable rivers, such as the Pearl and Pascagoula, and further east are the Alabama-Tombigbee, Chattahoochee and other systems. The basins are of unequal size, and some, as those emptying in Mobile Bay, could give rise to separate interests; but together they make up one district, the Old South West, extending from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochee, from the Appalachian highlands to the Gulf. No fairer land can be found for a commonwealth.

The country is made up geographically of several belts, running roughly from east to west, and cut transversely by these rivers. A large limestone district, known now as the Black Belt, sweeps in a crescent around the foothills of the Appalachians, extending southeastwardly from the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi across these different drainage basins to terminate near the Atlantic. Northeastward of this is a rough country, rich in minerals, but in early times unattractive to man. Southward of the Black Belt prairies is the Coastal Plain, formed principally of sand, often underlaid with clay. The fertile lands produced cereals and nut-bearing trees in great abundance, while the coast was given over to the pine woods. The transverse river basins, such as the Mobile, and, *par excellence,* the Mississippi, were made up of alluvial soil, and their vegetation was luxuriant. Large game like the deer, bear and even buffalo abounded, especially in the interior and about the water courses; birds were numerous and beavers were plentiful, while edible fish could be caught in every stream.

The Mississippi River, like the Nile, flowed

through a fertile country which it had created. On the western side and on both sides near its mouth the country was low and subject to inundations, while on the eastern bank were often found bluffs like those at Baton Rouge, the Tunicas, Natchez and Vicksburg, which became a series of hills eastward of the Yazoo River, extending roughly parallel with the great stream so as to enclose the Yazoo delta and give it a character of its own. It was intersected with bayous and ranked among the most fertile districts of America.

In the southwest the valleys of several streams, like Bayou Pierre, Cole's Creek, the Homochitto and Thompson's Creek made up a district having special characteristics. The land was high and yet well watered by these creeks, which, unlike elsewhere in this country, drained directly to the Mississippi. What was to become the northwestern and southwestern parts of Mississippi were, therefore, closely connected with the Mississippi River, and separated in character of soil and drainage from the prairies further to the east and the pine barrens of the coast. It may turn out that these characteristics will leave their mark in the history of the inhabitants.

The climate of this whole country is temperate. Snow is often known in its northern parts, and ice occurs down to the coast, but the predominant season is summer. Spring and autumn are mere names. Cold weather often does not come until January, while warm weather is sometimes known as early as March. Summer represents three-fourths of the year, which generally admits of two or three crops of vegetables. Beans and melons are native to the soil, but the staple product here, as elsewhere in America, is maize or Indian corn. This grows so early and so abundantly as to have been in all ages

the chief reliance of the population. Wheat on the one hand and cotton on the other are not native to this section, and were not known to the native races.

Indians.

The origin of the aborigines is still an unsolved problem. Their linguistic affinities divide them into a half dozen great stocks, and the country in which we are now interested shows traces of several and of their succession. There are enclaves, like the Biloxi on the Gulf and the much greater Natchez, Tunicas and Yazoos, whose names show their seats on or near the Mississippi River, but having affinities with races west of the great river. They were apparently cut off and surrounded by the great Muscogeean race, which, in historic times, extended from the Mississippi to the Atlantic and from the mountains to the Gulf. It would seem as if the branch which assumed the special name of Muscogee (the later Creeks) broke off earlier and extended eastward until they reached also the sources of streams draining to the ocean. The western branch was, at the time when history begins, subdivided into the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Chocchumas, who lived eastward of the Mississippi, and indeed the first two were more in touch with the Tombigbee and other Gulf streams than with the Father of Waters. The Chocchumas were about Yazoo River and eastward, while to their north lived the Chickasaws and to the southeast the Choctaws. The Choctaws claimed the great mound Naniwaya on Pearl River as their "mother," the place where the Chickasaws left them on arrival from west of the Mississippi.

The Indians were in the transition from the hunting to the agricultural age and had not developed the intermediate pastoral stage, and doubtless this was due to the fact that there were no native animals

which were suited to this condition. Dogs they had, but no cattle. The buffalo was being extinguished in historic times, and even the buffalo was hardly a good subject for domestication. They were not savages, for they used fire, had family, religion and government. They were in the middle status of barbarism, making pottery of beauty, and semi-agricultural. Traditions they had, traditions tied up with strings of beads wrought into belts, handed down from one generation to another; but this was an esoteric art, known to few and never taught to strangers. Mexico showed to what height native culture might attain, but Mexico also showed that it was accompanied by a decline in bravery or, at least, in the art of war. This stage, whether it be higher or lower, was not that of the Gulf Indians. They were typically men of the Stone Age.

Would the Indians advance to civilization, or would the absence of cattle keep them in barbarism? Would the advent of other races stimulate them or check their advance? Could minds which had evolved their inventions and institutions suddenly adopt those of Europe? Such are the problems before us.

The First Explorers.

Spain, with Columbus' discovery of the New World, became the leading nation of Europe, and the wealth of the West Indies, Mexico and Peru attracted many to her new possessions. As the South was reduced, interest grew in the North, and the vast province of Florida lured the Spaniards from other fields.

It extended from our Chesapeake Bay to Mexico, but little was known of it. A governor of Jamaica ventured in 1519 to send one Pineda to explore, and he reported a great harbor, which he named Espiritu Santo, about the centre of the north Gulf

coast. In 1528 Narvaez was forced to take ship at Apalache after a disastrous exploration of peninsular Florida, and soon with most of his followers miserably perished in storms off the northern coast. But the indomitable Spaniards were not to be dismayed.

The first European who penetrated the interior of the Gulf country was Hernando De Soto, who had acquired wealth and fame in Peru, a typical *conquistador*. The early route of De Soto was confined to the Gulf side of the peninsula, and he then struck northeastwardly and reached streams emptying into the Atlantic.

Afterwards he reached the sources of a river flowing to the southwest, and according to Biedma this was known as the Espiritu Santo, which emptied into the Bay of Chuse. In this Cosa country there were a number of towns, some on islands in the river, others inland on the watershed between our Coosa and the Tallapoosa. The Spaniards rested there for several months, but found little gold. It was a different region, a different race of Indians from those they had heretofore met. Oaks, walnuts, maize abounded, the towns were palisaded and the tribes stood in closer relations to each other.

In the fall of 1540 De Soto proceeded southwestwardly, and, after crossing a large river (the Alabama), he came to Mauvila, a palisaded town, containing large houses. Here occurred possibly the most sanguinary battle in Indian warfare. De Soto was victorious on account of his firearms and armor, but lost many men and horses, including much of the swine brought with him from Spain. It was found necessary to remain in the vicinity some time in order to recuperate.

The men were in favor of descending to the Bay of Chuse, not over forty leagues away, to meet the

fleet of Maldonado, which De Soto had directed to repair hither, but the Adelantado had nothing to take back to Cuba and therefore resolved on proceeding further. So northwestwardly they took their course, and, reaching a large river at Zabusta, built a barge and crossed. This was the Black Warrior, at possibly the place now called Erie.

In December they reached the River of Chicaca, our Tombigbee, and horsemen forded the stream probably near the modern Cotton Gin above Aberdeen, where the river tributaries form an island. After passage came negotiations with the Chickasaws, during which their chief induced the Spaniards to help him against the hostile Sacchumas, known to us as the Chocchumas.

De Soto spent the winter in the Chickasaw country between what is now known as Tupelo and Pontotoc. The Spanish camp can even now be traced in oblong earthworks.

There being no draft animals in the country, De Soto, like other Spaniards in South America, was used to having Indians as burden bearers, and made a practice not only of taking a chief from one district until succeeded by one from another territory, but also of impressing several hundred Indian *tamemes* or porters. This had been the main cause of much of the hostility which he encountered, and led the Chickasaws to display their indomitable independence. They not only refused his demand for porters, but, attacking his camp, nearly destroyed his whole force. Had they had anything of the discipline of the Europeans and continued the battle, instead of making a fierce onset and retiring, there would have been no Spaniards left to tell the story.

De Soto, perforce, remained a month, retempering arms, constructing lances of ash and making other repairs, suffering at the same time repeated attacks

DE SOTO'S DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

from the Chickasaws. Finally in April, 1541, the Spaniards marched northwest through the uplands, and after various mishaps reached the Rio Grande, our Mississippi.

They built barges and finally crossed over to meet new adventures. After wandering around for two years, they returned to the Mississippi, determined at last to find their way back by sea. While they were building boats De Soto died, probably near Helena, Arkansas, and left Moscoso as his successor. The survivors reached the sea and coasted along until they found Mexico.

Thus ended for the present the Spanish exploration of the interior. It was almost barren of results, no treasures being found and the accounts being so confused as to add little even to geographical knowledge. Indian paths were followed and no roads were cut.

In 1558 an expedition was sent by Velasco, governor of New Spain, to seek out a place suitable for colonization. His captain Bazares explored from the west as Pineda had from the east, and thus visited most, if not all, of the harbors. His description of Bas Fonde and Filipina bays resembles Biloxi and Mobile waters, and at all events between Pineda and Bazares the coast seems to have been explored and the way opened for permanent settlement. Accordingly, next year came the occupation by Tristan de Luna of the mainland of Florida, at Ychuse, a point apparently between Mobile and Pensacola bays. He sent an expedition northwardly to Nanipacna, which they found desolated by white men, doubtless those under De Soto, and they, too, reached the pleasant land of Cosa. The expedition, however, was broken up by dissension, and in 1561 the colonists were taken away before anything lasting had been accomplished.

Attention was henceforth concentrated upon the Atlantic coast, where St. Augustine was now established. More interest was felt in securing peninsular Florida, for it guarded the Bahama passage and thus the route of the plate fleets from Mexico to Spain.

Santa Elena, in what is now South Carolina, was one of the points occupied, and the activity of the Spaniards is shown by two expeditions under Juan Pardo in 1566, the second of which went as far west as Cosa and even Trascaluza, within a few days, it was reported, of New Spain. This, however, must have been guesswork, as there is no record that the Mississippi was reached, and even that river was a long way from Mexico. Between this and the Atlantic, however, Pardo established several posts.

There is little evidence that in the Sixteenth century there was anything more than an occasional expedition to the interior between the Mississippi and the Chickasaw or Tombigbee River. On the north coast of the Gulf the harbors were explored and used, late in the Seventeenth century provinces were claimed with headquarters at Panzacola and Apalache bays, and in 1670 there was found need for a boundary treaty with England.

The occupation, however, was practically limited to the Atlantic, and the Mississippi Valley was at most within the Spanish sphere of influence.

The French on the Mississippi.

The descent of Spain was as rapid as her ascent. Religious and economic reasons can be given, and both kinds, no doubt, had their influence. England and Holland succeeded to her power on the ocean, and France superseded her upon land. The French monarchy, planned by Richelieu, developed by Colbert, was at the end of the Seventeenth century di-

rected by Louis XIV. Europe was too small for his activity. All countries already had colonies, and America and India were explored and exploited for the benefit of the Grand Monarque.

Marquette and Joliet rediscovered the Mississippi River from Canada in 1673, and descended the Arkansas, and nine years later the intrepid La Salle explored it to its mouth, where he took possession of the whole basin and named it Louisiana. The explorer missed the river when he came to colonize the country from the sea, and died by the hands of an assassin in what has become Texas.

After the struggle with William of Orange, Louis took up the question of the settlement of the vast province named for him. Iberville was sent out, and in 1698 succeeded where his fellow Canadian had failed and entered the mouth of the Mississippi. The current was found too strong for the vessels of that day, and the marshes which constituted its bank offered no inducement to settlement; but the coast and islands of the sound were visited and named, and a temporary location sought on the Back Bay of Biloxi, with Ship Island as its outer bulwark. Iberville and his brother, Bienville, explored the country, and not only became acquainted with the Indians, but gradually secured a hold on them from the Gulf to the mountains. Choctaws, Mobilians, Chickasaws and Alibamons visited the French, and the earlier advances of the English were overbalanced.

It was determined to effect a definite location of the colony on Mobile River, and Fort Louis, erected on what is now called Twenty-seven Mile Bluff, became the capital of the vast province of Louisiana. The reason of this was plain. The Alabama-Tombigbee basin gave access to the three largest Indian tribes, and at the same time a safe harbor named Fort Dauphin, on Dauphine Island, at the mouth of

the Bay, afforded communication with the home country.

The story of any community may be looked at from the inside and from the outside—the development of the people themselves and their relations to the outside world. A characteristic of the colonization of Louisiana was the establishment of posts at strategic points among the Indians with the purpose of occupying and keeping out the English from the east and the Spanish from the west. Thus, on the Mississippi there was a small post near the mouth, Fort Rosalie erected among the Natchez, and St. Pierre on the Yazoo, while the mouth of the Ohio, the lower Wabash, and points even more remote were made bases of influence over the western tribes. The English had settled Carolina and a French fort was built at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers to control the Indians on the southern flank of the Appalachian range, at the parting of the drainage between the Gulf and the ocean. Posts were established even on the Tennessee River, as at Mussel Shoals and higher up among the Cherokees. French facility in diplomacy was never better illustrated than by Bienville amidst the American Indians.

This good beginning must, in order to tell in the long run, be followed up by the coming of immigrants who should develop the country. The land was eminently fitted for agriculture, but Crozat, to whom the king turned over the colony in 1712, aimed at trade with the Indians on the one side and with the Spaniards on the other, besides mining if possible. Law's Company, the so-called Western Company, from 1717 had the same plans, but was also a land-selling syndicate which induced much immigration. It is true many of the immigrants were not fitted to subdue the wilderness, but to the Missis-

sippi Bubble lower Louisiana owed the firm start which it obtained. There was more than one change of capital. In 1718, after the harbor of Dauphine Island had been closed by a storm, there was a doubt as to where to place the metropolis. Mobile was handicapped by the loss of the old harbor, and Bienville, who was governor since Iberville's death, wished to move the seat of government to New Orleans, which had just been established in the fertile delta of the Mississippi. The Commissary Hubert had already looked over the field, and, having obtained a concession in the Natchez country as being the best district, favored building the capital at Fort Rosalie. As a compromise the council hit upon New Biloxi, on the west side of the Bay near the spot marked by the present lighthouse. Here a fort was built and commerce went on actively enough with the Indians and with the mother country oversea.

In 1723 New Orleans became the permanent capital, and so far as the part of Louisiana between the Mississippi and Tombigbee is concerned, we may note that three of the nine districts into which the country was divided were Biloxi, Natchez and the Yazoo post. At each of these places were concessions more or less cultivated, and a warehouse for the purchase of peltries and other products and for the distribution of French manufactures among the Indians.

French Management of Mississippi Settlements a Failure.

France rallied somewhat after the accession of Louis XV., but the expenses and profligacy of the court at Versailles hampered the development of her colonies even as it affected the morale of her armies. The soldiers sent to Louisiana were not always of the highest class and suffered a good deal from the

malarial conditions which they met. Neither commissariat nor hospital service was well organized at that time, and the sufferings of the army in warlike expeditions were very great. The country continued to grow slowly, however, and the French relations with the Indians were generally good. It is doubtful whether there would have been any trouble at all but for the rivalry of the British on the Atlantic coast. Their traders, generally Scotch, threaded the Appalachian highlands and competed with the French even on the central Mississippi. They were sure to foment any difficulties which might arise.

What is called the Natchez War is generally said to have been due to the cupidity of the French commandant at Fort Rosalie, but this is not quite certain. At all events the garrison was massacred in 1729, followed shortly by a similar disaster on the Yazoo, and the whole colony thrown into consternation; but Perier's revenge was ample. At the fort, and later on Red River to the west, he practically exterminated the Natchez, except some few who took refuge among the Chickasaws and later in the Muscogee confederacy.

Chickasaw relations were more important, for they had become from an early date thoroughly identified with the English of Carolina. The origin of this ill-success of the French is not easy to trace. It was probably due in part to the fact that the Choctaws were firm allies of the French and in almost constant war with the Chickasaws. At quite an early date the Choctaws, in revenge for an injury, murdered a Chickasaw embassy as it was returning with a French convoy. The Chickasaws never abandoned the idea that the French connived at this, and when was added the flight to them of Natchez refugees and the constant visits of the

English traders, the situation is more easily understood.

The Chickasaw country had not, up to that time, been mapped and was difficult of access. It was a strategic point at the sources of the Yazoo and the Tombigbee, as well as of streams leading to the Tennessee, to a large extent prairie, and subject to great variations in the streams. Bienville's attempt, in 1736, to subdue the Chickasaws from the Tombigbee was well planned, but a detachment from the French settlements in the Illinois was destroyed in detail, while Bienville himself met with a decisive defeat at Ackia, near the scene of De Soto's disaster. Bienville's second expedition was from the west. It landed in the Yazoo delta and found it impracticable to proceed, so that the French general was glad to receive the nominal submission of the Chickasaws and return home. Had he gone further up the river and made his headquarters about Chickasaw Bluff, where De Soto crossed, the tale might have been different. An expedition of his successor, Vaudreuill, some years later, also from Cotton Gin on the Tombigbee, chronicled no disaster, but it also secured only a nominal peace.

The same English traders, James Adair among them, influenced by the Chickasaws, finally extended their intrigues to the Choctaws. Red Shoe became an English partisan, and this was the more unfortunate since his district was the Six Towns, the nearest the coast. The French from Fort Tombecbe secured his assassination, but there was long a civil war between the Choctaws who favored the English and French respectively. Victory came ultimately to those who favored the French, but at the price of retarding colonization far from the coast or rivers.

France Loses Mississippi Country.

It was not the natives, however, but the Seven Years' War which finally decided the future of Louisiana. There was no actual fighting in the Mississippi Valley west of Fort Duquesne, and the fate of Louisiana did not depend upon any event within her own bounds, except so far as the British blockade in the Gulf cut off supplies and communication with France.

The French King had taken back Louisiana, in 1732, after the Western Company had failed, but found it a heavy charge, for it did not repay the expenses of its maintenance. Agriculture, despite the efforts of some of the governors, had not been made the basis of a great commonwealth. Trade was still looked to and the officers who came out from France generally thought more of enriching themselves than of rendering good service to the government. The French King finally, in 1762, made a present of Louisiana to his cousin, the King of Spain, who accepted it with reluctance, but with the idea that holding the mouth of the Mississippi River might enable him the better to defend Mexico. This treaty, however, was kept secret, and in 1763 France ceded to Great Britain all territories east of the Mississippi River and north of Bayou Manchac and Lake Pontchartrain.

The aborigines still occupied their old hunting grounds, although there had been some tribal changes besides extinction of the Natchez. The few coast Indians were practically extinct, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws had united to exterminate the Chocchumas at Line Creek. But the natives had become dependent upon European goods and arms, and in European treaties were considered as passing with the lands. And now the coast east of the Lakes and the whole interior of the Mississippi Valley was ceded by the Latin to the Briton.

British West Florida.

With the cession to Great Britain came a new alignment in the southwest. Even names were changed, for the country between the Mississippi and Tombigbee ceased to be called Louisiana, and the old Spanish name of Florida was restored. The peninsular part was made the province of East Florida and the coast between the Chattahoochee and the Mississippi erected into the new province of West Florida. The boundary between Georgia and East Florida ran from the sources of the St. Mary's to the Chattahoochee, and for the time being almost the same line was in the shape of the parallel of 31° assigned as the north boundary of West Florida. The country to the north, bounded on the east by the Appalachian system, was reserved for the use of the Indians. Great Britain, therefore, recognized her colonies as lining the seacoast from Labrador southwardly around to the Mississippi River, and the interior was now definitely separated from them.

The up-river forts were now useless, and so Toulouse and Tombecbe were abandoned. Rosalie on the Mississippi and St. Pierre on the Yazoo had already completely dropped out of notice even before the Chickasaw War.

When George Johnstone arrived as governor of West Florida, his commission was changed so as to extend West Florida far enough north to include the Natchez country, because of valuable settlements in that quarter. The north boundary was declared to run eastwardly from the mouth of the Yazoo River, which was 32° 28′. The capital of West Florida was Pensacola, laid out, however, on a new site.

A legislature was granted the province, and its contests with the governor sometimes stopped only short of the pitch reached by the political disturb-

ances in the Atlantic colonies. Commerce was at first still looked to to build up the country, as set out more particularly in a glowing proclamation of Governor Johnstone.

The new policy was not only to include foreign commerce, but trade with the different Indian nations. These were uniformly friendly to the French, and some of them even followed the French flag west across the Mississippi River. Thus there went some of the Alibamons, and the Coosadas, who had tarried for a while on the Tombigbee River. There had been no real traders in French times except the commandants of the several posts and their agents, and now this was to be changed. The Crown appointed a superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern department, and the governors of the different provinces licensed traders, who were put under bond. Treaties with the different tribes regulated the price of goods, and the whole grew into much more of a system than obtained under the French. The English manufactures were more diversified and the price lower, so that in course of time the Indians became at least as much attached to Great Britain as they had been to France.

A new land policy soon led to the settlement of the country, particularly on the Mississippi. Soldiers who had served in the late war were entitled to land grants varying with their rank. A private received fifty acres, officers much more, and special grants were made not only by the council, but by a mandamus of the king in his royal council to the governor of West Florida. Such were the grants to General Lyman, who had aided in the capture of Havana, and to Amos Ogden, of New Jersey, of lands near the Mississippi.

The French government had looked on the Indians as subjects and the whole land as royal territory,

granting concessions at will, the Frenchmen settling throughout the interior. The French had often adopted Indian customs, sometimes married Indian women, and were on cordial terms with the natives everywhere except among the Chickasaws. The British, on the other hand, had the Anglo-Saxon repugnance to marriage with dark-skinned races, and unconsciously pursued a better policy. Families settled within touch of each other, thus building up a white neighborhood of agriculturalists who had little to do with the Indians. It became necessary, therefore, in order to prevent friction, to purchase territory from the native tribes, and this was done by the government in a series of treaties. The first was held at Augusta in 1764, attended by Stewart, the Indian superintendent, and many Creeks and Cherokees. The second, possibly even more important, was held at Mobile the next year, when not only the whole coast west to the Mississippi was ceded, but two interior strips. One embraced the shores of Mobile Bay and extended from the Tombigbee on the east to the Buckatunna on the west, the north line being near the modern Bladon, and the second was the east bank of the Mississippi River from Bayou Manchac up to the mouth of the Yazoo. These two districts gradually became well settled, the nucleus of a flourishing colony.

The selection of Bayou Manchac, otherwise known as Iberville River, as a southwestern boundary must have been from maps rather than from information as to facts, for the bayou was high and dry in the summer time, and only navigable when the back water of the Mississippi flowed through it in the winter and spring. Even then it was generally full of driftwood, but the British government undertook to make it navigable and spent a good deal of money cutting up logs and otherwise improving the naviga-

tion. A fort named for Lord Bute was built at the Mississippi end and it was planned to establish a city near it, for the importance of towns was realized and it was thought possible to create them instead of leaving their growth to time. The city did not materialize, but trading houses did, and the point became of some importance. Across the bayou, connected by a wooden bridge, was a Spanish fort.

The bayou never became of the value anticipated for communication between Mobile and Pensacola on the one side with the upper Mississippi and Ohio posts on the other. At worst, however, vessels could land where the bayou joined the Amite and the portage of nine miles is described by the botanist Bartram as being over a good level road.

The nation of shopkeepers, as Napoleon was to describe them, had acquired the right to use the Mississippi River from its mouth, and proceeded to do so. English trading vessels from Europe or from Mobile ascended the river, passing in front of New Orleans without stopping, going up to Fort Bute, Baton Rouge and the settlement which grew up under the hill at Natchez. They not only carried supplies to their own colonists, but, with little attempt at secrecy, sold to the Spanish plantations at prices which could not be duplicated in New Orleans. This became, in time, the cause of a good deal of friction.

Major Loftus was sent from Pensacola through the mouth of the Mississippi River charged with the duty of ascending to Fort Chartres and taking possession of the Ohio Valley. The Indians, however, ambuscaded his little fleet at the point where good Father Davion used to minister to the Tunicas, and he returned discomfited to Mobile. Major Farmar afterwards made the ascent himself and met an expedition from Fort Pitt, and they together took possession of the Great West.

The American Revolution began on the Atlantic in 1774, culminating in the Declaration of Independence two years later, but the Floridas remained loyal. There were no rebels on the Gulf coast, and, as East Florida became a political haven for loyalists fleeing from Georgia and Carolina, West Florida was the destination of many of the quieter class, who did not relish civil war and sought new homes in the Southwest. Not a few settled above Mobile and Pensacola, but perhaps even more went further, to Natchez and Manchac, and the population up the Mississippi finally amounted to a thousand or more. The settlements were described in a book written by Pitman, and constituted two of the six districts entitled to representation in the colonial legislature. As a result, this river region became thoroughly anglicized, while the Gulf coast about Pascagoula and Biloxi remained essentially French. On the Mississippi agriculture flourished, the staples being indigo and tobacco, and to these was afterwards added cotton. On the Gulf the people were mainly hunters and fishermen, although Krebs at Pascagoula was to lead the way in inventing a cotton gin consisting of rollers which measurably excluded the seed while passing the lint through.

Negro slaves had been common under the French, and the increasing agriculture brought the need of more still. As the English controlled the sea, many were brought from Jamaica and other British islands and some direct from Africa.

The country did not long remain exempt from the dangers incident to revolutionary times. The Continental Congress authorized Oliver Pollock to purchase ammunition in New Orleans, and it is doubtful whether George Rogers Clark would have been able to conquer the Northwest for Virginia without this assistance. A British vessel named the *West*

Florida patrolled the waters about Lake Pontchartrain, but an American privateer captured her, and with the connivance of the Spanish government the coast passed under the surveillance of this representative of the new American navy.

James Willing, who had been a resident of Natchez, obtained some kind of a commission from Congress and came down the river on the nominal errand of getting the inhabitants to take an oath of neutrality. He was well received, for the people, although loyal, were not disposed to wage war upon the other colonies. Realizing his power, Willing turned jayhawker, if not pirate, and robbed his former friends. Col. Anthony Hutchins, who had secured a large grant near Natchez, and Sir William Dunbar, one of the most cultivated men of the age, were among the sufferers. The inhabitants were doubly unfortunate, for upon their appeal to General Campbell, at Pensacola, he sent a commander who was little better than Willing himself.

Meantime there had come to the head of affairs in Louisiana Bernardo Galvez, at once ambitious and able. At his distance from Spain he had proconsular power, and, in 1779, learning of a breach between England and his own country, he took active steps to reëstablish Spanish authority on the Gulf. He seized Fort Bute at Manchac, and marching rapidly compelled Colonel Dickson to surrender Baton Rouge and also its dependency, Fort Panmure at Natchez. The whole of the Mississippi settlements fell to Spain.

Galvez sailed to Mobile in 1780 and succeeded in capturing it, which carried also the coast. He then made elaborate preparations, and in 1781 attacked Pensacola. The contest there was more equal, but the explosion of the magazine in Fort George forced General Campbell and Governor Chester to a capit-

ulation. They marched out with honors of war, and were repatriated on Spanish vessels to New York.

There was a counter-revolution by the people of Natchez, for they succeeded in regaining possession of Fort Panmure and hoisted the British flag; but this triumph was short lived. They learned of the capitulation of Pensacola and its results, and many, dreading Spanish vengeance, fled through the forests, swimming rivers and suffering unheard-of privations until they reached the Atlantic colonies.

There was now no opposition to Galvez. His conquest of West Florida was ratified by the treaty of peace which was signed in 1782 between Great Britain and Spain. The whole Gulf coast was Spanish again.

West Florida Under Spain.

West Florida had been conquered by Galvez while governor of Louisiana, but with true Spanish conservatism no change was made on the face of affairs. West Florida remained nominally a separate province, with capital at Pensacola as under the British; but practically it consisted only of a number of posts like Pensacola, Mobile and Natchez, while the administration of these and of the more numerous Indian tribes centred at New Orleans. The governor of Louisiana was also governor of West Florida.

As under the British, the country consisted of several districts, some fronting the Gulf while others faced the Mississippi River. The connection was very slight, being politically through responsibility to common authorities at New Orleans and physically by the Lake route and Indian paths across the Gulf rivers. The inhabitants of Pascagoula and Biloxi went on raising cotton and tobacco, and mainly living by hunting and fishing, visited by priests from Mobile, and occasionally hearing of

outside affairs through schooner from New Orleans, On the Mississippi Bayou Manchac sank into insignificance because no longer a real frontier, Baton Rouge became a little town in an agricultural district, while further up the river old Fort Rosalie was practically abandoned and the settlement of Natchez grew up on the river bank under the hill. Both Natchez and Baton Rouge, however, became places of importance and refinement, and centres of growing indigo, tobacco and cotton interests. While typically river towns, frequented by rough boatmen, their inhabitants were English or from the Atlantic states. If some of these were refugees, many brought means, which they increased, and others brought education and high family connections, so that during the Spanish period the American General Wilkinson could speak of Natchez as "an extensive, opulent and polished community." Bayou Pierre and Cole's Creek to the north and St. Catherine's Creek and other settlements to the south increased in numbers and prosperity, and made the district one of peculiar interest. It was Anglo-Saxon under Spanish rulers, and even Protestantism took root, despite the perfunctory acts of the commandant and the greater zeal of the priest.

The wars of the Northwest had not been repeated in the Southwest, for there was not the same pressure upon the aborigines. While the Natchez and Mobile districts were increasing in numbers, there was no immediate danger of the population outgrowing the lands ceded to the British, and the accomplished commandants and governors of Spanish West Florida had little difficulty in securing the attachment of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Muscogee Indians. It seemed as if a primitive kind of civilization would be indefinitely prolonged—the Europeans living a trading life within their fixed bounds;

the Indians hunting and fishing and bartering to the whites the products of their territories in exchange for goods and firearms.

The French were a decadent race according to the British standard in the middle of the Eighteenth century, when suddenly their Revolution transformed them into the leading people upon the globe. Their ambassador, Genet, landed in Charleston and commenced raising an American army to reannex Louisiana to France. Washington opposed the scheme and Jefferson even then saw that America could not brook the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi by any strong power. Nevertheless Genet interested many men and created great uneasiness in Louisiana before the French government recalled him. There was even a British plan to detach Louisiana, which secured aid and comfort.

Nor were the Spanish authorities of the decadent kind. The inhabitants of Louisiana and West Florida had no complaints to make of their government, and Governor Miro and his successors initiated an extensive and successful attempt towards interesting the West. If the West were to become independent of the United States, there seemed to be no good reason why it should not depend on Spain.

Boundary Question.

And to this political kaleidoscope was added yet another element. Great Britain, by her treaty in 1782, had recognized the American boundary as the line of 31°, although she had previously extended West Florida up to 32° 28′. Therefore, the United States asked that Spain should recognize 31° as the boundary, but, until weakened by the wars of the Revolution, Spain absolutely refused to do so.

If the United States went to 31°, moreover, the

state of Georgia claimed that this should be her southern boundary, for her charter ran from sea to sea. Georgia, therefore, claimed at least as far as the Mississippi, for there was no other nation in the way. The United States made their claim in a diplomatic manner, at the same time refusing to use force to secure their end. Georgia, encouraged by the success of her Indian policy, and of old accustomed to war with Florida, was not prepared to let Spain stand in her way. In 1785 she erected a county called Bourbon on the Mississippi River—really the old Natchez District—and commissioned some of the leading citizens as her officials. This brought on a diplomatic war between Georgia and the United States, as well as Spain, but Georgia persevered and some years later sold much of her territory to stock companies for 25 cents an acre. The consideration was promptly paid and the companies were finally declared by the United States Supreme Court to have valid titles, even though a political revolution in Georgia culminated in a repeal of the Yazoo Acts, as they were called.

Spain was an old country and had seen many races come and go. The Goths, the Moors, the French in turn invaded her borders; but the Spaniard was made more a Spaniard by the pressure brought to bear upon him from without. In Florida the Spaniards had to face a different problem, one to which their previous experience had not accustomed them. To the north was growing up a country which could not be confined to the Atlantic coast and whose population was spreading gradually but surely across the mountains to the Mississippi River. There had been conflict with Georgia in colonial days, but a greater than Georgia was here. At last conditions at home made Spain unwilling to face new problems in America, and Godoy, the real ruler, consented to

the treaty urged by Jay, the American ambassador. In 1795 the line of 31° was assented to.

But the Western intrigue was still on and different excuses were found in Florida against running the line until 1797, when the Americans sent Andrew Ellicott, a Quaker surveyor who had served in Georgia, down the Mississippi and backed him up by Lieutenant McClary and Captain Pope with United States troops. Ellicott succeeded in stirring up strife in a community which had been remarkably peaceable, but Captain Guion was finally sent by General Wilkinson, the American commander-in-chief, and succeeded in confining Ellicott to his true duties. Aided by Freeman for the Americans and Estevan Minor and Sir William Dunbar for the Spaniards, Ellicott began running the line from near Davion's Bluff and gradually continued it eastwardly. He crossed Mobile River, the Chattahoochee, and finally reached the sources of the St. Mary.

Ellicott's *Journal* gives a long account of affairs at Natchez, the impression left being that Gayoso, the Spanish commandant, was actually imprisoned in his fort by an uprising of Americans. The real fact seems to have been that there was no difficulty except between Ellicott and Gayoso. The inhabitants of the Natchez district, however, like Anglo-Saxons everywhere, early showed their capacity for self-government. It being reasonably clear that Natchez would fall within American territory, a convention was held and a kind of constitution submitted to Gayoso and promptly approved. This provided that the inhabitants should have a speedy administration of justice under alcaldes chosen by them, should not be imprisoned for political offenses, and should not, as a part of the militia, be called to serve outside their own district. Governor Carondelet approved the arrangement. Gayoso was

shortly afterwards appointed to be governor in place of Carondelet, himself promoted to Quito, and Minor was made commandant at Natchez. Minor, himself of American origin, approved the election in the several beats of the district of a Committee of Safety, and despite interference by the military, this committee was duly elected, Col. Anthony Hutchins being the leading man in the movement. On March 29, 1798, the Spanish garrison evacuated the fort at the Natchez and withdrew to New Orleans, and very soon the post at Nogales, now Vicksburg, was also abandoned. The advance of the American and the retreat of the Spaniard had thus begun—a movement which was only to reach its climax a century later.

The Natchez district, as well as that upon the Tombigbee, was for the time being left without any law except that of the military. The citizens of Natchez applied to Captain Guion to take care of the roads, patrol, police, liquor traffic and recovery of debts, and he promised his support wherever it might be necessary, particularly as to the sale of liquor to the Indians, but left judicial matters to the citizens themselves.

Gen. James Wilkinson arrived in August. Guion, on his way down, had conciliated the Chickasaws at Chickasaw Bluff, while the Choctaws were generally friendly, and Wilkinson found himself able to devote his attention to fortifying the new southwestern frontier. He concentrated his troops at Davion's Bluff, generally called Loftus Heights, and there constructed Fort Adams. Over on the Tombigbee the post of St. Stephens had likewise been delivered by the Spaniards to Lieutenant McClary, and a post was established at Fort Stoddert on Mobile River just above the line.

The military occupation of the southwest was

complete, but there was need of a civil government. Titles to land, the foundation of everything, were uncertain, for there were British, Spanish and Georgian grants, and even sovereignty was still in dispute between the United States and Georgia. Spanish domination had ceased, but it was not clear what would follow.

Mississippi Territory.

European colonization had occupied the American coasts, and was now to give way to something native. It is true the Indians, who in the Gulf regions occupied all the interior, remained barbarians of the Stone Age, and contact with civilization was to ruin rather than develop them. But a new type of native had been originated and a form of migration over the mountains to the Mississippi Valley, all so different that old names became inappropriate. Immigrants were no longer colonists, looking oversea to a dearer home, but American citizens who brought home and free institutions with them.

Mississippi territory, created April 7, 1798, was to have in its internal growth and external relations a very real history of its own. In one respect it might seem the condition of the people was inferior to that under Latin rule, for public expenses were now paid by taxation instead of by a paternal government. But on the other hand their industries were no longer under governmental control, but free. Taxation was the price of liberty.

After the Spanish evacuation there were two districts subject to the American government—the Natchez and the Tombigbee districts—both of which had been ceded by the Choctaws to the British government. The Natchez country was now cut off from the Baton Rouge district, and similarly over to the east the Tombigbee settlements, although

twice the size of those about Natchez, were but the upriver end of the Mobile country. However, the Natchez district had a town and more people lived about Bayou Pierre, Cole's Creek, Catherine's Creek and Homochitto than about St. Stephens and Fort Stoddert on the Tombigbee and Mobile rivers.

Government Under Sargent.

Winthrop Sargent, former secretary of the Northwest territory, was governor of the new Mississippi territory, and his arrival in October, 1798, put at end to the military interregnum. As provided by the Act of Congress, he and the judges, who soon joined him, put in force a code of laws not unlike that with which he was familiar on the Ohio, laid out several counties on the Mississippi and an enormous one called Washington on the Tombigbee. He commissioned judges of Common Pleas and County courts, justices of the peace and sheriffs, and the new territory was launched upon its career.

It required negotiation and concession on both sides to obtain the relinquishment of Georgia's rights to the soil, and it was not until an Act of 1802 that an agreement was reached making compensation to settlers under the Yazoo and other grants. An even greater need for Federal assistance was found in the Indian relations. The United States had, in 1786, in the treaties of Hopewell on the Keowee River, been successful in inducing the Choctaws and Chickasaws to place themselves under the American protection and to subject their trade to supervision, and now other treaties provided for the re-running of the old British lines. The two districts making up Mississippi territory were connected by the trace or path cut by McClary, but there were no means of communicating with the seat of Federal government except by runners through the Choctaw

and Creek nations, or by water passing through the Spanish territory. In 1801 General Wilkinson negotiated treaties with the Chickasaws at what afterwards became Memphis, and with the Choctaws at Fort Adams, by which a wagon-road was provided for, following the old trace from Natchez to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee River below Mussel Shoals, and thence on to Nashville. This was doubly important. Not only did it afford a safe return for the western people who took their wares by flat and keel boats to Natchez and New Orleans, but it encouraged immigration by land as well as river. A treaty with the Creeks in 1805 enabled the government to establish a horse path, afterwards widened into the Federal Road from Milledgeville, in Georgia, by Mims' Ferry across the lower Alabama and Tombigbee rivers to Fort Stoddert and St. Stephens, and in the same year, by the treaty of Mt. Dexter, the Choctaws ceded the land south of McClary's path and thus connected the districts of Natchez and the Bigbee.

The title to land is the foundation of civilization, for this is based on private property. The United States found it necessary to provide for the recognition of grants by former governments, and to establish a system of its own for granting the public domain to individuals. The policy in the Northwestern territory had at first been worse than that of the prior governments. Virginia had provided for limited grants, with an imperfect system of location, but the United States only for that of thousands, or even millions, of acres to companies of speculators. Experience showed the necessity of patenting small tracts in order to induce immigration. The old *empresario* plan was given up and a simple system adopted on the Ohio of dividing into townships six miles square, each containing thirty-

six sections, so that when, in 1802, land offices were established at Washington, the capital which superseded Natchez, on the one side and at Fort Stoddert on the other, a solution of the question was attainable. Lands could be bought in small tracts, even less than a single section, and where necessary credit was extended to the purchaser. The southwestern frontier of the United States thus became a Mecca for worthy people of small means.

Turning to the local side of territorial life we find that the country gradually developed, agriculture being the mainstay and cotton rapidly becoming the most valuable product. Negro slaves were brought from the Spanish possessions and overland from the Atlantic states.

Governor Claiborne.

Sargent's laws were no more popular in the new territory than they had been in the old, and indeed found greater opposition, for an agent was sent to the seat of the Federal government to secure their repeal. They called for exorbitant fees, which went to the governor, and his own frigid manner seemed to invite opposition. He was not removed, but as the easiest way of getting rid of the laws the territory was advanced to the second grade, which admitted of a local legislature. When this met in 1802, it played havoc with the governor's laws. Sargent had already left for Boston, and the popular W. C. C. Claiborne, of Tennessee, was appointed in his place by the new president, Mr. Jefferson. Cotton receipts had long been the circulating medium, and legislation now provided for money and a bank, and amongst other things for an active militia.

It was almost as if an armed host had been camped in the country. The whole territory was divided up into military beats, and the lower officers

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

were elected just as were the members of the legislature. The beats became the unit for civil as well as for military purposes, and the whole Southwest received a military cast. Of the same nature was the patrol, who kept a sharp oversight over the slaves, visited their quarters and rendered summary justice.

A digest of laws was compiled and published in 1807, the foundation of the civil system of future states. Its compiler was Harry Toulmin, an English Unitarian minister, who had left England for America. Mr. Jefferson found him a school teacher, made him president of the Transylvania University, and in 1804 appointed him Judge of the Superior Court of the Washington district on the Tombigbee.

Influence of Louisiana Purchase.

A turning point in the history of the Southwest was the purchase of Louisiana by Jefferson in 1803. Mississippi territory lost its governor, for Claiborne was promoted to the head of the new territory of Orleans, and the United States not only acquired the undisputed right of navigating the Mississippi, but now owned the mouth of the river itself. Mississippi territory on one side, however, still remained on the frontier, for its faced Spanish West Florida. It is true Louisiana was always claimed by the United States to extend as far eastward as the Perdido River, but a hint from Napoleon for some time restrained the Federal authorities from undertaking to enforce the claim.

The whole West, however, was undergoing transformation. Indiana had been made a separate territory in 1801, Ohio admitted as a state the next year, and Illinois territory was soon to be separated from Indiana. Conditions gradually changed both in Europe and America.

Spanish Possessions and Aaron Burr.

There came to be an intense desire in the West to expel the Spanish from Baton Rouge and Mobile on the one side, and to make good the United States claim out to the Sabine on the other. At the same time the Mexican authorities prepared to assert the Spanish claim eastward to the Arroya Hondo and send an army forward to maintain it, while General Wilkinson marched to oppose occupation. War seemed imminent.

Then entered a new factor. Aaron Burr, after ceasing to be Vice-President, took advantage of his personal popularity to organize an expedition which, he said, was to occupy a Spanish grant which he had purchased. Jefferson was hostile to him and set in motion the whole governmental machinery to prove that he had treasonable designs. He was arrested in Kentucky, defended by Henry Clay, and released. He went down the Ohio and Mississippi, but rumors preceded him. Wilkinson, whom he claimed at one time as one of his friends, now concluded a truce with the Spanish general, by which the disputed territory was left neutral ground, and marched for New Orleans and Natchez. Cowles Mead, acting as governor of Mississippi territory in the absence of Governor Williams, called out the militia, and feverish anxiety prevailed.

Burr arrived near Natchez, anchored on the Spanish side of the river, and, when interviewed, quietly surrendered to the civil authorities. District-Attorney Poindexter attempted, unsuccessfully, to have him indicted by the grand jury under the direction of the Territorial Supreme Court, which had no Federal jurisdiction. It declined to release Burr from his recognizance, however, and the next morning he was not to be found.

A few days later Burr was arrested near the lower

Tombigbee and kept in easy confinement at Fort Stoddert for some time, charming everyone who met him. Such was his magnetism that Captain Gaines found it expedient to send him under a picked guard across Mims Ferry and through the states to Richmond for trial. There he was acquitted, Chief Justice Marshall presiding; but his plans had received such a blow that he never returned to the Southwest, even to claim a beautiful woman whom he had fascinated near Natchez.

The Spanish rule below the line was mild, but blood proved thicker than water. The brothers Kemper had made raids upon Spanish possessions, and had been badly treated in return. In 1810 they had their opportunity again, and with other daring spirits raised at Baton Rouge the standard of the independent State of West Florida. The Spaniards retired to Mobile and Pensacola, the new flag was unfurled at Biloxi and Pascagoula, and Kemper roused the Washington district to raise an army of invasion. Whiskey and dissension, however, ruined the project, and a Spanish force from Mobile captured the invaders on the way.

The United States, while disavowing the acts of the Kempers, nevertheless, through Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, took possession of the pseudo state. As time went on they felt emboldened to go further, and General Wilkinson, in April, 1813, "without the effusion of a drop of blood," compelled the surrender of Mobile. Ultimately the territorial acquisitions were divided between Louisiana and Mississippi territory, which thus reached the Gulf.

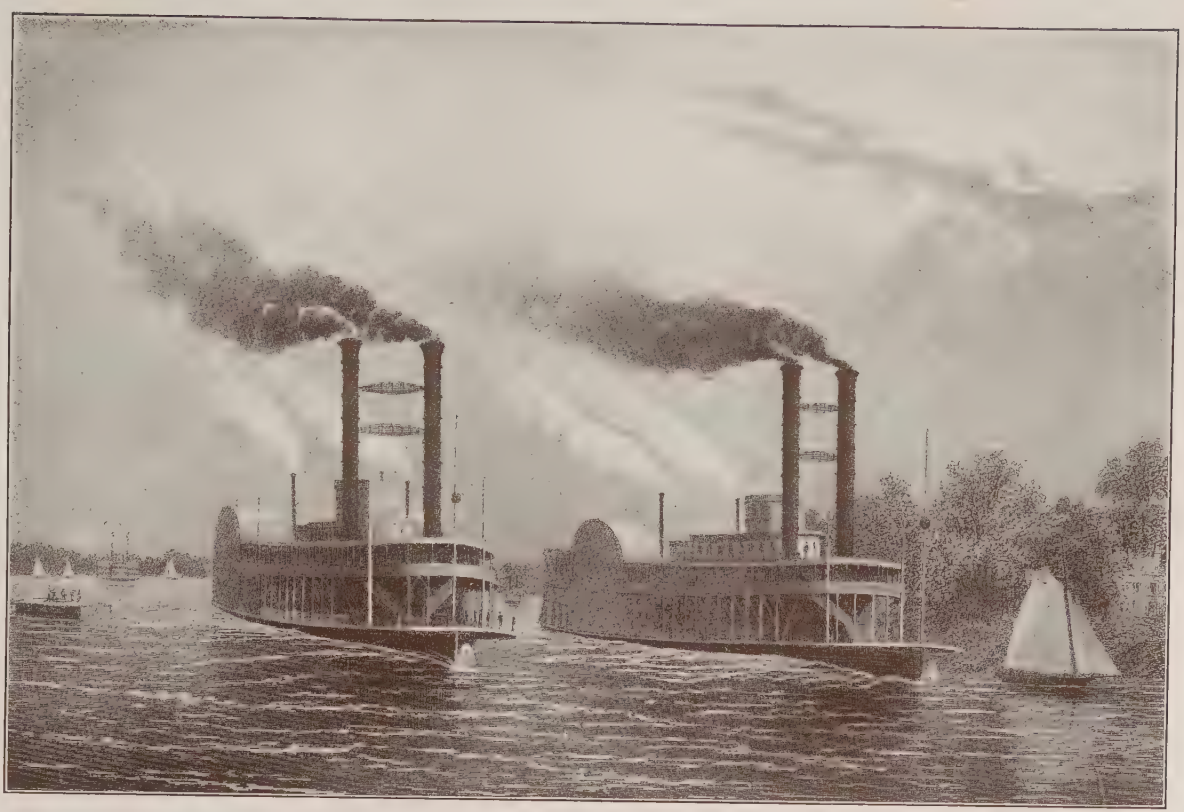
War of 1812.

Meantime war had commenced with Great Britain and, as Pensacola was used as a base by the British fleet in the Gulf, the whole coast was threatened. An

even more pressing danger, however, arose in the interior, when Tecumseh, supposed to be inspired from Canada, came to arouse the southern Indians, who held still three-quarters of the nominal bounds of Mississippi territory.

The Choctaws were kept in alliance with the Americans by the exertions of Pushmataha, and the alarm felt even in the Natchez district was gradually allayed. Tecumseh had been fully successful in his visit to the Creeks, however, and what Colonel Hawkins, the Indian agent, at first thought would be an Indian civil struggle developed into the Creek War, which, in 1814, laid waste Fort Mims and the settlements between the Alabama and Tombigbee. This was a long way from the seat of Federal government, but the militia of Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi territory were called into service. The Mississippi volunteers under Gen. F. L. Claiborne marched over to Mt. Vernon near Fort Stoddert, and finally built Fort Claiborne on the Alabama and burned the Creek stronghold of Econochaca or Holy Ground. Floyd did not advance far with the Georgia troops, but the indomitable Jackson pressed southward from Tennessee, winning such battles as Talladega and Horse Shoe Bend. He camped, finally, at old Fort Toulouse, then renamed for him, in the fork of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, whence, after dictating peace, he floated down the Alabama to Mobile.

Soon England and the United States arranged a peace at Ghent, and the development of the Southwest was renewed. The Creek War had devastated the eastern portion of Mississippi territory, but had resulted in opening to white settlement all the country west of the Coosa and south to the Gulf. The Natchez district had not suffered, and it also grew by leaps and bounds.



ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Industrial Progress.

The Latins had brought cattle and the horse to America, with the result that agriculture not only furnished food, but tobacco, indigo and cotton for export. Whitney's invention of a gin which, by cylinder and teeth eliminated the seed, reached the Southwest in the time of the Spaniards, and in the first years of the new territory it revolutionized industry. More cotton was planted, more immigrants came, more slaves were imported. Plantation life established an extensive rather than intensive type of civilization, and the Southwest contrasted even more sharply with the North than did the rest of the South. Transportation, however, was difficult, and in consequence there was little incentive to raise a surplus for exchange abroad. Roads were rude because the population was sparse in this rural territory, and boats slow and uncertain.

In 1811 war was threatening and nature was in convulsion. Earthquakes engulfed New Madrid on the upper Mississippi and the end of the world seemed near, when there came a happy portent meaning much for the future.

After Fulton invented his steamboat and operated it on the Hudson River, his agent, N. J. Roosevelt, carefully explored the Ohio and Mississippi with a view of introducing the invention. Failure was predicted on account of the strong currents, but he built at Pittsburgh the steamer *New Orleans* and gradually descended the rivers. The whole population of the little towns of Cincinnati and Louisville turned out to see the wonder, and she carried cotton down from Natchez. The transportation problem was solved. A new step had been taken in civilization.

We have not been able to trace the evolution of a commonwealth up from the Stone Age, for the Indians were gradually retreating before the white

men. We study its history only from the time of the settlement of the civilized races, and can now see that with the American territory growing from the nuclei at Natchez and on the Mobile, the advance in the inventions and institutions of civilization was more marked than at any time before.

Religious and Social Conditions.

The incomers brought the Protestant religion, with its individualism as well as its fear of God. The Congregationalists had come even in Spanish times, but the new denomination called Methodists and the other pioneer sect of Baptists followed close behind and became dominant. The eccentric Lorenzo Dow, at the beginning of the Nineteenth century, found all three faiths in active operation, although to his notions there was sometimes little success to their efforts.

If religious institutions had taken a strong hold, political were even more prominent. The necessities of the case made the community a military democracy, self-governing as far as the Federal policy permitted, and anxious for the fuller autonomy of statehood. Taxation was rather coveted than avoided, for it gave the people public buildings, roads and laws.

The social institutions were *sui generis*. The adaptation of the soil to agriculture, particularly to cotton, and the resulting importation of negro slaves led to the plantation life and created a special form of society, having aristocratic and patriarchal elements with all its democracy. How far the prevailing Jeffersonian tendency to liberty, equality and fraternity would affect this social organism remained to be seen.

Institutions are not the only milestones of human progress. They mark the intellectual side, but in-

ventions come even earlier and are the basis upon which institutions rest. The inhabitants of Mississippi territory inherited all that had been used by Europeans and Americans, and were now to find in the new cotton gin and steamboat the cause and means of upbuilding an agricultural commonwealth unique in history.

State Formed 1817.

The old Southwest was a geographical unit in that it drained to the Gulf, but when the steamboat emphasized waterways there was a cleavage of interests. Previous plans for one great state, or for two states running east and west, gave way before the new conditions. The river steamer called for the division line to run north and south, practically on the line between the Mississippi and Tombigbee basins, and thus, in 1817, came into being the State of Mississippi, formed of the western half of the old Territory.

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Peter J. Hamilton,

Author of Colonization of the South, Reconstruction, etc.

Chapter II.

MISSISSIPPI A STATE IN THE UNION, 1817-1861.

The Constitutional Convention of 1817 and Organization of State Government.

After much discussion, extending over a period of seven years, the movement for the admission of Mississippi territory as a state into the Union was successful. The Congress of the United States in the Georgia settlement had provided "that the territory thus ceded shall form a state, and be admitted as such in the Union as soon as it shall contain sixty thousand free inhabitants, or at an earlier period if Congress shall think it expedient." After the census of 1810, which gave the territory a popula-

tion of forty thousand, both free and slave, the people grew restive under the territorial status. The desire, however, on their part to procure statehood was not caused by the anxiety to maintain a balance of power in the National Congress which was felt by political leaders in the admission of a new state into the Union. As yet, they were almost wholly unacquainted with political values, and were conscious of only that degree of nationality which made them desirous of sharing in every privilege granted by the constitution. The same ideal of personal liberty and equal opportunity that had taken possession of the minds of the people of the older communities had fixed itself in their thought and aspiration; and here upon this far outpost of American-Anglo-Saxon civilization a social organism was beginning to establish itself such as was found in the mother colonies. They styled themselves—and they were for the most part—the legitimate offspring of Seventy-six. Though the section had taken no part in the War for Independence, many of the inhabitants, as citizens of other states, had seen honorable service in that war. Having, however, as a community, been an active participant in the War of 1812, and having shared with distinguished honors in Jackson's victories, they took no small credit to themselves for the successful termination of this second war for independence. Their ambition for statehood manifested itself in numerous resolutions passed by the people, and in memorials of the General Assembly to Congress, seeking admission into the Union. These efforts were sedulously continued in spite of the fact that the number of the state's white population hardly justified the demand, and their unwearying perseverance would have gained admission earlier had not a conflict arisen among the people themselves over the question as to

whether Mississippi territory should form one state or two. The majority of the people wanted one, but finally acquiesced in the decision of Congress, which provided for one state and a territory.

The enabling act, which was signed by President Madison March 1, 1817, empowered the people of the western part of Mississippi territory to form a constitution and state government, and provided for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states. The boundary clause of the enabling act embraces the following described territory: "Beginning on the river Mississippi at the point where the southern boundary line of the state of Tennessee strikes the same, thence east along the said boundary line to the Tennessee River, thence up the same to the mouth of Bear Creek, thence by direct line to the northwest corner of the county of Washington, thence due south to the Gulf of Mexico, thence westwardly, including all the islands within six leagues of the shore, to the most eastern junction of Pearl River with Lake Borgne, thence up said river to the thirty-first degree of north latitude, thence west along the said degree of latitude to the Mississippi River, thence up the same to the beginning."

The act of Congress apportioned the representatives among the counties, fixed the day of election on the first Monday and Tuesday in June, 1817, and provided that the convention should meet at the town of Washington, the seat of government of the territory, on the first Monday in July. An election was held throughout the fourteen counties and resulted in the selection of forty-seven delegates.

The constitutional convention of the western part of the Mississippi territory met at the town of Washington on July 7, 1817. The meetings were held in the Methodist church, erected in 1805, the

fruits of a religious revival conducted by Lorenzo Dow, the New England itinerant.

The convention organized by electing Governor David Holmes president and Louis Wiston secretary. On July 10 a committee of twenty was appointed to draft a constitution. The new constitution, however, was mainly the work of the chairman, George Poindexter, an able lawyer who, like so many of his profession, was attracted to the rich section and soon became a factor in its development.

Under the provisions of the constitution the executive power was vested in a governor, elected by qualified electors for a term of two years, only free-holders being eligible; the legislative power was vested in two branches, one to be styled the Senate, the other the House of Representatives, and both together the General Assembly, and it was provided that only free-holders could be members of the Assembly; the judicial power was vested in one Supreme Court and a superior court, the last to be held in each county at least twice during the year by a judge of the Supreme Court elected for the district. The judges were elected by the General Assembly, and held office during good behavior up to the age of sixty-five years. Provision was also made for the establishment of a court or courts of chancery, courts of probate and justices' courts. The suffrage clause provided that every free white male of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who was a citizen of the United States and had resided in the state one year preceding an election, and the last six months within the county, city or town in which he offered to vote, and was enrolled in the militia thereof, except when exempted by law from military service, or, having the aforesaid qualifications of citizenship and residence, had paid a state or county tax—was deemed a qualified elector.

A difficult question for the convention to settle was the site for the state capital; Natchez was strongly supported, but could not muster sufficient votes to secure it. The convention avoided the question by requiring that the first session of the General Assembly be held in Natchez, and thereafter at such place as might be directed by law. The name which the new state was to bear was also the subject of considerable controversy. The committee reported in favor of the name Mississippi. When the preamble came up for adoption, Cowles Mead moved to strike out the word Mississippi and insert in lieu thereof the word Washington, but the motion was lost by a vote of seventeen for Washington and twenty-three for Mississippi. The cost of the convention was $9,703.98, and $100.00 was paid for the use of the little brick church.

Under the provisions of the schedule adopted by the constitutional convention, Governor Holmes issued writs for an election to be held in each county. The state officials selected at this election were David Holmes, governor, and Duncan Stewart, lieutenant-governor. The members of the General Assembly were also elected, and George Poindexter was selected to represent the state in the House of Representatives.

At the time fixed for the first meeting of the General Assembly at Natchez, yellow fever prevailed there, and Governor Holmes issued a proclamation calling the session at Washington. The body convened Oct. 6, 1817; on the following day the election returns were canvassed, and Governor Holmes was inaugurated in the presence of both Houses. The constitution having provided for the election of all state officers except the governor and lieutenant-governor, the following officers were elected: Daniel Williams, secretary of state; Lyman Harding, at-

torney-general; Samuel Brooks, treasurer, and John R. Girault, auditor. On October 9 the Assembly elected Walter Leake and Thomas H. Williams United States senators, and on the same day adjourned on account of disturbed conditions growing out of the continued spread of yellow fever.

On December 8 the General Assembly met at Natchez at the house of Edward Turner. In making up the committees Edward Turner, Charles B. Green and Harman Runnels were entrusted with the organization of the judicial system, Joseph Sessions, George H. Nixon and John Joor with the militia, and Philander Smith, John Joor, George H. Nixon, George B. Dameron and Henry G. Johnston with the finances.

The young commonwealth had lost no time in placing itself in readiness for statehood, and when Congress met in December a resolution admitting the state of Mississippi into the Union was passed by the Senate and House, and was signed by President Monroe December 10, 1817. The resolution which made the new state a member of the American Union was reported by James Barbour, a senator from Virginia, and was in the following words: "Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the State of Mississippi shall be one, and is hereby declared to be one, of the United States of America, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever."

And thus, shed from the great mass of Anglo-Saxon civilization in America, this handful of society began to assume a distinct social and political organization that was destined to share in the future history of the American nation. It had outstripped and displaced two valiant nations; had conquered

the wilderness infested with wild beasts and reeking with deadly malaria; and at the same time was domesticating one savage race—a herculean task for which it has never received proper credit—while it contended with another that would not be domesticated. Nothing withstood its onward march, and everything for which men contended passed into its keeping. So strong was its breed that a mere handful of people scattered upon isolated spots was sufficient to develop a thriving social organism which, while it differed somewhat in minor points, retained, as a whole, an unchangeable likeness to the parent stock.

Pioneer Statehood, 1817-1832.

In passing from the territorial to the state form of government, the authority of the chief executive had been greatly curtailed. He no longer had the appointment of officers from justice of the peace to treasurer-general, and his authority comprehended little more than a participation in legislation, and the right to extend pardon to offenders against the penal laws. The General Assembly, however, had large powers conferred upon it, which was only a shifting of excessive authority from one branch of government to another, an error which the people afterwards realized and corrected.

Administration of Governor Holmes.

The territorial administration of Governor Holmes, covering over eight years, had been a period of steady growth and advancement; the population had grown from 40,352 in 1810 to 73,000 in 1817, and agricultural interests were taking a firm hold. The emigration to the state about this time was largely from Virginia and the Carolinas; Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee furnished many settlers, and to this was added a sprinkling of emigration from Pennsyl-

vania, New York and the New England states, much heavier than is commonly supposed. Of foreign-born population there had never been a large influx, and though this continued to be the condition and accounts for the uniform Anglo-Saxon type among the people, it is worthy of note that just prior to the War of Secession the foreign-born population was larger than it was forty years after the war. What weight this fact would have in a discussion of the relative economic growth of the two periods has yet to be determined.

During the first years of statehood the subject which commanded the attention of the governor most was internal improvement. He appreciated the value of transportation in the development of a new country and wrote to William H. Crawford in 1818 that the Pearl River, the Pascagoula, Chickasawhay, Leaf, Big Black, Yazoo, Homochitto and Bayou Pierre were susceptible of improvement for navigation, and that the improvement of three important roads was in contemplation; one leading from Natchez to Washington, one to St. Stevens and one to Madisonville on Lake Pontchartrain.

It was during this early period of the state's existence that the Elizabeth Female Academy was established. It was located near the town of Washington, February, 1818, being the first chartered institution for the higher education of young women in the United States. Jefferson College, a school for young men, had been established by the legislature of the Mississippi territory in 1803 at the territorial seat of government. Thus we find the state at a very early period of its existence provided with two colleges.

Administration of Governor Poindexter.

In January, 1820, Governor Holmes was succeeded by George Poindexter. The new chief execu-

tive had been prominent in public affairs since 1803, and was the admitted leader of the Jefferson Republicans of Mississippi. Soon after his inauguration Governor Poindexter sent a special message to the General Assembly, recommending "a general revision and consolidation of the statutes"; he also urged the establishment of better schools to be supported by a public fund, which was an advanced position for the state along educational lines. The governor's policy in reference to public schools, however, was not carried out, and it was some time before the state had any definite legislation upon the subject of the general education of the people.

The important events of 1820 in Mississippi were the survey of the Alabama line, the United States census, which showed that the population had increased to 75,000, and the Choctaw Treaty of Doak's Stand, which opened up 5,500,000 acres of fertile land for settlement, this being one of a series of treaties by which the Indians of the state were outwitted in the disposition of their lands.

The most exciting political question in Mississippi at this time, as elsewhere, was the admission of Missouri into the Union. The status of slavery in the state was the same as that of the other southern states; the people believed that slaves were recognized forms of property, and felt that their owners should not be discriminated against on account of being slaveholders in the settlement and development of new territory. There had been at an early period of the state's history grave doubts as to the wisdom of permitting great numbers of savages, many of whom represented the worst element of their race, to be brought into the state, and several of the territorial governors had impugned the practice. There had also been, from time to time, prohibitory legislation against slaves being

brought to the state as merchandise; but, though the traffic was generally considered to be an odious one and beneath the calling of a gentleman, the ethical side of the question had never seriously presented itself to the minds of the people, and they could neither understand nor appreciate the constant interference of Northern abolitionists in the matter.

Such a marked improvement was evident in the condition of these savage people in their domestication among the better white classes, that the latter were wholly unconscious of any desire upon their part to abridge a single liberty belonging to any person, white or black, that they themselves enjoyed. If the ethical side of the question was of any moment at all, it rested in the fact that the negroes were regarded as an ignorant, helpless race, totally unfit to be thrown upon its own resources, and really needing the supervision and protection of the white race. As an economic question, slavery had fixed itself in the life of the people. The Indian had proven a failure as a domestic; the country, in its virgin state, could hope for nothing but agricultural development for many years; the owners of the land were descended from a race who had inherited from their English ancestors a love of the land, and a strong desire to possess it, and no other people fitted so well in the industrial life as these simple black folk, who withstood the heat and malaria, and yielded readily to domestication. Long and close association with the white race had its civilizing effect upon the negroes, and it was not long before the two races became warmly attached, both alike manifesting a keen interest in the other's welfare. Thus as economic interests had fixed the system in the laws of the people, the domestication of the race fixed it in their hearts. The abolitionist was right in his position on the ethics of slavery, but more than

benighted in his conception of its condition in the South. Forever opposed to the old rehabilitated story of a people being required to "make bricks without straw," is the truth of the love and fidelity that existed between master and slave.

It was about this time that the banking system of the state began to receive some adverse criticism. In 1809 the Territorial Assembly passed an act for the establishment of the Mississippi Bank with a capital stock of $500,000, and in 1818 the State Assembly passed a supplemental act which gave the bank exclusive privileges, also pledging itself not to allow the establishment of another bank before Dec. 31, 1840. In his message of 1821 Governor Poindexter made a strong attack on the Mississippi Bank, saying that by the act above noted exclusive privileges had been secured to a corporate body, without an equivalent to the state, until the year 1840. The inability of the bank, however, to meet the demands of the state for increased banking facilities caused the legislature later to ignore its pledge, and incorporate a new institution known as the Planters' Bank of Mississippi. In this brief outline of the state's history there is no room for a lengthy discussion of its banking system, but it may be of interest to note that for twenty years during this period of state growth, its politics revolved around its banking interests.

In 1821 the General Assembly of Mississippi passed an act authorizing the governor to codify the laws of the state. This blending of the duties of the executive and judicial departments was the subject of a protest signed by a minority of the Senate. At this same session of the Assembly an act was passed appointing a commission to select a site for the seat of government near the centre of the state within the recent Choctaw purchase. The

site was selected Nov. 28, 1821, and was called Jackson, in honor of Gen. Andrew Jackson, with whom the people had many tastes in common. With the opening of the new Choctaw purchase and the location of the seat of government, a steady growth and wholesome industrial development set in.

Administration of Governor Leake.

Walter Leake, an able man and a native of Virginia, succeeded Governor Poindexter, and followed in his administration the policy of internal improvement that had been pursued by his predecessors. The General Assembly met for the first time in the new capital in the small two-story state house which had been provided at a cost of $3,000. Appropriations were made for the improvement of the Pearl and Big Black rivers, and roads were laid out connecting the various settlements with the seat of government; new farm lands were cleared, county seats and towns located in the New Purchase, and the diffusion of population became greater than at any previous time.

Governors Brandon and Holmes.

Gerard C. Brandon, who, upon the death of Governor Leake, exercised the powers of governor until Jan. 7, 1826, called the attention of the people to renewed efforts in internal improvements, and in his first message took occasion to say that "In every public institution, the stock of which is calculated to produce a revenue, it appears to me the state should be the principal concerned. By this policy she might, in a few years, have an overflowing treasury." Thus it is seen that there was a constant effort on the part of both the people and the public officials to develop the state along substantial lines.

In 1826 David Holmes was again called to the

office of chief executive. The expenditures had exceeded the receipts and the new administration faced a deficit of $41,000, made up of $21,000 due the bank, and $12,000 for claims of state warrants. To meet the deficit it was necessary to revise the revenue system, and a heavy increase in all taxation was made.

In the summer of 1826 Governor Holmes, on account of failing health, resigned, and Lieutenant-governor Brandon again assumed the duties of governor. After filling out the unexpired term of Governor Holmes, he was elected to the office by the people in 1827.

On Jan. 20, 1828, General Jackson, then a candidate for President, visited the capital, arousing great enthusiasm among the people. In the following November the electoral vote of Mississippi was cast for Jackson and Calhoun. Beginning with this period a great Democratic revival set in which found expression in Mississippi in a popular demand for radical changes in the organic law.

At this time the state's finances were in a healthy condition, the receipts being far in advance of the expenditures. The fertile land opened for settlement attracted the attention of the people of the older Southern states, and a large immigration flowed into the northern districts, made up mainly of thrifty families of Anglo-Saxon stock. In the counties first settled the people had already assumed the social position held by the best circles of the older states, and these counties furnished the state most of its distinguished men. Though not at close range, they felt perceptibly the influence of the wave of intellectual activity that about this time swept over English-speaking nations. The new states, especially those of the lower South, modeled themselves upon the plan of the older communities, and

in this way American civilization was kept uniform, the commonwealths growing, with slight differences, into one people with the same ideals and aspirations.

It is true that the struggles incident to pioneer life and the almost unbridled form of Democracy taught by Jackson, coupled with the old-world custom of dueling, and the prevailing habit of indulging in strong drink, had somewhat coarsened the fibre of the people, but notwithstanding all this the highest religious and political ideals were held and woman was regarded with the deepest reverence. The best English literature was found in the home, and the conversation and public addresses of the people were ornate with quotations from the classics. The intelligent Englishman traveling through the older counties would have instantly recognized the kinship of the inhabitants with the best classes of his own country. Unlike the people of the West, in whose dreary isolation Dickens imagined that he foresaw a situation that could never be altered, these were of a more aspiring strain, retaining to a large extent their ancestral characteristics and leanings, and exhibiting, in their manner, an air of superiority that characterized the English gentry.

There was a ruder and simpler class dwelling among the state's population, especially in the outlying districts, but they, too, had caught something of the spirit of the older communities, and although they were rude and unlearned they were keen to see their own interests, and were demanding for themselves every blessing that Democracy accorded to the more privileged classes.

The Democratic Movement and the Constitutional Convention of 1832.

The demand for a constitutional convention had been gathering force for several years previous to

1832. The movement for a convention was simply a natural demand by the majority for greater powers of self-government. Like all state constitutions made before 1800, the first constitution of Mississippi was somewhat aristocratic in its tendency. There was now an irresistible trend of the people of the entire country in the other direction. Andrew Jackson had been elected to the presidency. A reform bill had been forced through the British Parliament by the strength of the popular demand for a larger share in the government. The people were coming into greater control everywhere.

The General Assembly submitted the question of a constitutional convention to a vote of the people. The election was held in August, 1831, and was carried by the advocates of a convention. At the next session of the General Assembly on Dec. 16, 1831, an act was passed providing for the election of delegates in August, 1832, to a convention to meet in Jackson on the second Monday of September, 1832. Abram M. Scott had succeeded Gerard C. Brandon as governor, and he was in sympathy with the movement for a convention.

The issues in the campaign put forward by the friends of the convention were: manhood suffrage, ad valorem taxes, limited term of office, election of all officers, executive, legislative, judicial and military, by the people, separate judges for circuit and supreme courts, a legislature once in two years, no dominant church and free public schools with the funds distributed impartially for the benefit of the common people. The convention met in the little brick state house at Jackson on Monday, Sept. 10, 1832, and organized by the election of P. Rutilius R. Pray, a native of Maine, president, and John H. Mallory, secretary.

There were forty-seven delegates in the conven-

tion, and the majority favored radical changes in the constitution of 1817. A distinct cleavage existed between the radical and conservative elements. As a rule, the radicals represented the new counties and the conservatives the old. The new counties wanted enlarged self-government; the older counties clung steadfastly to the ideals of the past.

It was soon evident that the majority would not compromise and had determined to push popular rights to the highest point yet attained. The spirit of the convention was soon made known by the report of the committee on bill of rights. That advised: That there should be no property qualification for suffrage or public office; that the people were capable of self-government and of electing their own officers, and ought to exercise this right directly through the ballot-box in all cases where they can with advantage and convenience do so, and that whenever the people delegate this inestimable power the reason and necessity for so doing shall be strong and imperative; that to preserve the principle of rotation in office and prevent officeholders from becoming oppressive or unmindful of their duty as public servants, no office should be held during life or good behavior; that no person should hold more than one office at the same time; that the executive, judicial and legislative powers should be strictly separate, and that monopolies are odious and contrary to the spirit of free government and ought not to be suffered in any case whatever.

The convention was in session forty-six days, and adopted a new constitution Friday, Oct. 26, 1832. In commenting on this constitution Governor Scott took an enthusiastic view of the future under its provisions; he said that its adoption marked the new era of "a new term of political existence, unshackled by the prejudices, errors and forms which,

in old communities, sanctified by time and strengthened by habit, too often acquire the force and energy of nature,'' and his words expressed the opinion of the people.

A brief survey of the provisions of the constitution of 1832 will show its pioneer character. The chief executive power was vested in a governor chosen (by qualified electors) for two years, and ineligible to office for more than four years in any term of six. Other state officials were elected for two years, except the attorney-general, whose term was four years. The legislative power was vested in a Senate and House of Representatives. Members of the lower house were chosen every two years, during the first week in November; their number could not be less than thirty-six nor more than one hundred. The senators were chosen for four years (one-half biennially), and their number could not be less than one-fourth nor more than one-third the number of representatives.

The judicial power was vested in a High Court of Errors and Appeals, consisting of three judges chosen by the electors, one elected each two years from each of the three districts into which the state was divided, for a term of six years; in a Circuit Court held in each county at least twice each year, its judges chosen for four years; in a Superior Court of Chancery, the chancellor elected on a state ticket for a term of six years; in a Court of Probate, its judges chosen in each county for two years, and a county board of police elected for two years. No life offices were permitted.

All white males, twenty-one years old and upwards, and citizens of the United States, were qualified electors. Residence in the state for one year next preceding election, and four months in county,

city or town was required. All elections were to be held by ballot.

It will be noted that novel doctrines had been infused into the constitution. For the first time in the state's history no restriction was placed on popular suffrage, and for the first time in any state the principle of popular election was applied to the judiciary. The old aristocratic tendencies of the Revolutionary era, which controlled in the making of the constitutions of the original thirteen states, had given way before the new democracy of the South and West. The new state of Mississippi had set an example of popular rights which was to exert a powerful influence on her sister states.

The Growth of the State, 1832-1861.

In 1832, under the terms of the Treaty of Pontotoc made with the Chickasaw Indians, 6,283,804 acres were added to the public domain. This immense territory, comprising the entire northern part of the state, was divided into twelve counties.

The economic condition of the state, at the beginning of 1833, was excellent. The rapid emigration of the Choctaws to the territory west of the Mississippi left the people in almost undivided possession of an immense area of rich farming lands, which were being rapidly taken up by actual settlers. The prosperity of the people was shown in the condition of state finances. The receipts from November, 1831, to January, 1833, were $106,000; expenditures, $91,000.

The legislature authorized the sale of bonds to the amount of $1,500,000 for the basis of additional currency to be issued by the Planters' Bank, the idea being that the great prosperity of the state would make the payment of the bonds easy out of the bank profits.

In the field of politics the two great subjects of controversy were the protective tariff and nullification; these two questions occupied the attention of the legislature at the January session of 1833 to a considerable extent. The Democrats opposed the tariff and were generally with Jackson in his course toward nullification; the Whigs favored a protective tariff and also opposed nullification.

In 1831 the legislature chartered a company to build a railroad from Woodville, Miss., to St. Francisville, La., and other companies were chartered during the next six years. In 1837 about seven hundred men were employed in the construction of the Woodville & St. Francisville road, which was to be twenty-nine miles long. On the Natchez-Jackson railroad hundreds of men were at work between Natchez and Washington, and trains were running between the two places in May, 1837.

From 1832 to 1837 was a period of speculation and rapid development. The credit of the state and of individuals was being strained to the breaking-point. Everybody seemed to be growing rich and there was no thought of danger. The bonds of the state were quoted in London at a large premium, and the general belief was that they were as good as, if not better than, gold.

The year 1836 is often referred to by historians as "the most prosperous year in the history of the state," but the flush times were largely speculative and fictitious. A period of real prosperity had caused overtrading and too much stretching of credit. The state had fed the fever with extravagant issues of bonds, the people incurred debts which they could not pay, and financial ruin was inevitable.

The financial crisis came in the spring of 1837, and the state met the emergency by passing the

"Post Note" law, authorizing the banks to issue notes payable in thirteen months at 6 per cent. interest, which should be receivable for taxes and all public dues, and by chartering the Union Bank. These measures, however, served only to increase the general distress.

It was in these years that the state, through the Planters' and Union banks, piled up the indebtedness which was afterwards repudiated.

The state census of 1837 showed a total white population of 144,351; slaves, 164,393. Acres of land in cultivation, 1,048,530; number of bales of cotton produced, 317,783. The white population of the larger towns were: Natchez, 3,731; Vicksburg, 2,796; Columbus, 1,448; Jackson, 529; Clinton, 613; Grand Gulf, 490. Port Gibson, Woodville and Grenada were the only other towns having over 400 whites.

The dominant leader in state affairs during its time of financial distress was Alexander Gallatin McNutt, who was elected governor in 1837 as an anti-bank candidate. His crusade against the banks was just, but his zeal led the state into repudiation.

The state was a large stockholder in the Union and Planter's banks, and was the guarantor of their notes. It is evident that the state was the victim of dishonest and corrupt methods in the management of the banks. There can be no doubt, however, that repudiation was wrong and that a compromise settlement should have been made with the innocent holders of the state's bonds.

In 1844 better conditions returned. In his message to the legislature of 1846, Gov. A. G. Brown said: "The past two years have presented a period of very general prosperity. Farming lands have improved in value." There had been a large influx of very desirable immigrants into the "Chickasaw

Purchase," and all forms of industry had brought good returns.

Up to this time little attention had been paid to the education of the children of the state at public expense. There was no public school system worthy of the name, and no provision had been made for a state university. Governor Brown made an investigation of educational conditions, and on this based a message to the legislature urging appropriations for public schools. A state university was chartered in 1844, and its doors were opened for students Nov. 6, 1848. This was the beginning of an institution which has since maintained the highest educational standard.

In April and May, 1846, there was great excitement in Mississippi over the war with Mexico, and volunteer companies were drilling in the streets of scores of towns in the state. Two regiments and one battalion of riflemen were furnished by Mississippi to the armies of the United States, and Jefferson Davis and John A. Quitman made national reputations as leaders under Taylor and Scott. Taylor's army was saved from defeat at Buena Vista by the gallantry of Mississippians under command of Jefferson Davis, and Mississippi troops in Quitman's brigade raised the first American flag over the captured City of Mexico.

The years 1847-50 were marked by great prosperity in Mississippi, caused by the successful termination of the Mexican War, the addition of new territory to the Union and the discovery of gold in California. All these things stimulated good feeling and a hopeful view of the future. The prairie and bottom lands of the state brought seventy-five and eighty dollars an acre. The crops of cotton and corn were large, and the farmers raised great quantities of cattle, horses and hogs.

National politics, as influenced by the large acquisition of territory from Mexico, filled the minds of the people during the administration of Governor Matthews, 1848-50. On the question of the admission of slavery into the newly acquired territory, they took the stand that it was the common property of the United States, and to prohibit the citizens of one portion of the Union from inhabiting such territory with their slaves would be a palpable violation of that clause of the constitution which provides that citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states. They contended that slaveholders should have equal rights with non-slaveholders in the settlement of the territories.

The inauguration of Gen. John Anthony Quitman, one of the heroes of the war with Mexico, as governor, Jan. 10, 1850, was attended with all the military display thought to be necessary for the occasion. He was one of the most extreme State's Rights Democrats in public life, and his administration was marked by an intense agitation of questions growing out of the Compromise of 1850.

An act of Congress of far-reaching importance to Mississippi was passed Sept. 28, 1850, under the terms of which the state was granted all swamp and overflowed lands for the purpose of building a levee system for protection against the overflow of the Mississippi River. This legislation was the beginning of a levee system, kept up at public expense, which has opened up for cultivation 4,250,000 acres of the richest cotton land in the world.

The period 1854-58 was memorable for industrial growth and development. It was at this time that the state extended substantial aid to the building of railroads. In 1854 the legislature passed an act authorizing the state to take $300,000 stock in railroads.

Levee protection having become assured, immense cotton plantations were opened up in the river counties, which only a few years before had been considered hopelessly unavailable.

The economic growth of the state during this particular period was of that sound, healthy nature that indicated great progress in the future in every direction, and gives rise to the question as to whether slavery, from a purely economic standpoint, would have proved a failure in the South or not. But already forces were at work to relieve the democratic institutions of the country of this paradoxical condition. From a matter of social reform it urged its way into national politics, and met with as bitter opposition in one channel as in the other. By the abolitionist it was condemned because of its contrariety to the law of humanity; as a political question it involved rights granted in the constitution, a betrayal of which was not thought possible by the Southern people. Mississippi was central ground, if not the storm centre, of the controversy, and the decade of 1850-60 was a time of earnest discussion of sectional questions affecting the political, industrial and social life of the state.

The people of Mississippi have always adhered to the early interpretation of the constitution, which was accepted by the New England, as well as the Southern, school of construction. When the constitution was adopted by the various states there was little difference of opinion as to their rights under its provisions. The New England position was clearly indicated by its attitude on the Louisiana Purchase, which caused its public men to advocate secession; and on the embargo laid upon shipping by the National government in 1808, when the people declared it unconstitutional and refused to enforce it; Gen. Benjamin Lincoln going so far as to

resign his office as collector of the port of Boston, rather than incur the odium of enforcing the law. The position of New England was shown again in 1812, when Massachusetts and Connecticut openly defied the President when he made a requisition on their governors for the use of the militia of those states within their borders. In both states nullification and secession were advocated by those in authority.

The Southern position was given in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, which contained the ideas of Jefferson and Madison; by the action of Georgia in 1828-30, when that state refused to obey an act of Congress concerning the Cherokee Indians, and again in 1832, when South Carolina declared an act of Congress null and void and was ready to secede if necessary.

It was natural for New England to rebel against the Louisiana Purchase and the Embargo, because both were against her welfare and bore heavily upon the political and economic interests of her people; for the same reason South Carolina was consistent when she resisted a national law which operated oppressively upon her economic well-being. These incidents serve to show that both New England and the South believed in the right of secession, and both were willing to exercise it under certain conditions.

In the course of time as the country developed, the interests of the North and South became widely separated by the growth of economic and social differences. Both sections used slave labor in the beginning, but owing to climatic conditions in the North it did not pay there and was abandoned; in the South it succeeded, and was believed to be necessary to the economic development of the country. The accumulated wealth of the Southern states was bound up in slaves; this species of property had

been recognized and protected by the organic law of the land, and any attack upon it was regarded as an infringement on state rights and an assault on the rights of property.

The difference in the system of labor, North and South, caused an economic conflict between the sections. The people of the South believed that their civilization and enormous agricultural interests depended upon the perpetuation of slavery, and that it should not be subjected to outside interference; and when many of the states of the North openly nullified the national fugitive slave laws, incited the slaves to insurrection, called the constitution "a league with death and a covenant with hell" and burned it in the streets, they began to believe that their political and property rights were in danger.

Mississippi, as a typical Southern state, was slow to believe that it was the ultimate policy of the Northern states to interfere in the domestic and economic affairs of the South. From 1820 to 1859 the great majority of the leaders counseled a patient-waiting policy; both Democrats and Whigs adopted that course, and very few were advocates of secession during that time.

A discussion of the policies of state leaders and of political parties is continued in this article under the heading "State Politics and Party Leaders, 1817-1861."

Economic, Social and Educational Conditions, 1850-1861.

By the year 1850 the pioneer period of statehood had been passed. The entire territory of the state had been practically abandoned by the Indians, county government had been established everywhere, the rude log cabin had given place to the handsome home of colonial architecture, and the forest had given way to the cotton plantation.

Economic Conditions.

The economic basis of the state was agriculture; cotton was the chief product and the great wealth producer. In the wealthy counties, where the lands were most productive and profitable, slave labor largely predominated; in many of the upland counties where the lands were not so rich the small farmer tilled his own soil, which he could do with greater profit than with slave labor.

As the profits from agriculture increased, the demand for labor increased also; the profits from the farms were then invested in slaves brought from Virginia and the Carolinas. Under these conditions the evolution of the cotton plantation was simple. As lands were cheap and to be had in the uncleared forest on credit, or for a very small outlay, the young farmer would begin his operations with a few hundred acres of wild land and a half dozen negroes. In a few years the plantation would be cleared of trees and undergrowth, and its cultivation yielding large profits. These profits were invested in more land and negroes year by year, until large wealth came to the owner. To buy land for the production of cotton and to put the profits in more land and negroes was the simple formula by which the Mississippi planter grew opulent. The profits from a New England farm by the best possible management were three or four per cent.; the Southern planter made from 15 to 30 per cent.

It was natural that the state should be devoted almost entirely to agriculture, as the returns were good and the lands plentiful. The state was growing rich through the cultivation of the soil, and it was not strange that its people did not take up manufacturing, a line of industry which is never established in the first years of the development of an agricultural section.

The idea of the planters, who largely formed public opinion and policies, was to make Mississippi an immense plantation for the cultivation of cotton. The growth of food crops was frequently abandoned by planters living near the large water-courses, corn and hogs being supplied to them by the farmers of Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, who shipped their produce down the Mississippi River. This policy, however, was not pursued by all. There were many planters, whose purpose was to make their plantations industrial units, as independent as possible of outside sources of supply. The best regulated plantations not only made all necessary food supplies, but kept up little centres of industry for the manufacture of clothing, shoes and hats, and for the repair of farming implements.

It was natural for an industrial system based on slave labor to create a large leisure class, which grew larger as wealth increased. This was true in Mississippi as well as in the other Southern states. This leisure class furnished the country with the statesmen who were most influential in the organization of the Union, and by whom the country was dominated for the first seventy-five years of its history as a nation. It also developed the social graces and amenities of life which made the courtesy and hospitality of the Southern gentlemen famous wherever gentle manners and good breeding were cultivated.

Social Conditions.

The centre of the social, as well as of the industrial, system was the plantation. Manual labor was necessarily associated with slavery, and was regarded as degrading by the governing classes. While the social system was intensely democratic in theory, in reality it was a perfect type of a feudal aristocracy modeled after that of England. Like

the English gentry, the American of the South of the highest class did not regard the man engaged in trade as his social equal. This idea was brought from England to Virginia, and was carried to all the states of the South.

The well-to-do planters of Mississippi had yearly incomes ranging from ten thousand to one hundred thousand dollars; they spent much of their time in travel, especially during the heated term in summer. Every year, from July to October, the fashionable resorts of Virginia were thronged with rich planters from the lower South.

The social life of the plantation was marked by a sincere hospitality; the owner was courtesy itself; his home, his family and his ancestors were first in his affections; he was generous, kind-hearted and quick to take offense; to wound him in his honor was to give an unpardonable affront, and the duel was the mode for the redress of such grievance. There was a chivalry in his nature which accorded woman the highest place in his ideal of a well-ordered society, and no one was allowed to even hint in his presence that she was not the embodiment of all the virtues.

In the pursuit of pleasure during the winter New Orleans was a favorite centre with Mississippi planters. The fondness of the Creole for music and gayety appealed to them, and they took advantage of yearly visits to make settlements with commission merchants, to give their wives and daughters some of the enjoyments of city life.

Educational Conditions.

During the pioneer period of the state's history it was the custom of cultured families to send their sons and daughters, after they had acquired the necessary preliminary training from private tutors and at local academies, to the colleges and universi-

ties of Virginia, North Carolina, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut. The University of Virginia, Chapel Hill and Princeton were favored by many families of wealth and culture.

The University of Mississippi was chartered in 1844, and when it was opened for students in November, 1848, a strong appeal was made for local support; from that time, therefore, the majority of young men seeking higher education were sent to Oxford instead of Charlottesville and New Haven.

Up to the forties little attention had been paid to the education of the children of the state at public expense, and there was no public school system worthy of the name. In 1846 Governor Brown in his message urged appropriations for that purpose, and in that year the legislature passed "An Act to establish a System of Public Schools." But this law was fatally defective, as it provided that the tax could not be levied until the consent of a majority of resident heads of families in each township had been given in writing. The public schools struggled along under the law of 1846 and that of 1848 until 1861; many counties had good schools supported by public taxation; others were very imperfectly provided for in this particular.

In 1860 there were 1,116 public schools in Mississippi attended by 30,970 pupils.

State Politics and Party Leaders, 1817-1861.

The state of Mississippi entered the Union during the administration of James Monroe, which was the era of good feeling in American politics. The Federalists had made their last effort as a national party in 1816, and the organization was in a state of dissolution in 1817. The Jeffersonian Republicans were at the height of their power, and the Whig party had not yet been formed.

The men who held a controlling influence in Mississippi politics when the state was admitted were David Holmes, George Poindexter and Walter Leake; they were not only natives of Virginia but belonged to the most steadfast school of Jeffersonian politics, whose political creed centred in strict construction of the constitution and state sovereignty. This school of public men, first known as Republicans and later as Democrats, have controlled the politics of the state, with few interruptions, since its admission into the Union. From 1817 to 1832 there was not sufficient opposition from the advocates of the old Federalist party to have any influence on public affairs; the leaders of the Democratic party were George Poindexter, Robert J. Walker, Thomas Hinds, Powhatan Ellis, Thomas B. Reed and Abram M. Scott.

The first presidential election in which the state participated was in 1820; three electors were chosen, one of whom died before the election, so that the state's first vote for President was cast for James Monroe.

From 1824 to 1840 the Democratic party was supreme in the state and Andrew Jackson was the idol of the people. In 1836 there was great dissatisfaction over the candidacy of Martin Van Buren for the presidency, and but for the well-known desire of General Jackson, the state would have been carried by Hugh L. White, the Whig candidate, in spite of its large majority of Democratic voters. The state was carried for Van Buren by only 311 majority, and when he was again a candidate in 1840 he was defeated by William H. Harrison. In the national election of 1848 the Democrats were again defeated. These were the only defeats of the Democratic party in national elections during the first forty years of the state's history.

The same uniform success attended the party in state politics, with the single exception of 1835, which resulted in the defeat of Hiram G. Runnels, the caucus nominee of the Democratic party, by Charles Lynch, the candidate of the Poindexter Democrats and Whigs. The political effect of the constitution of 1832 was to place the control of public affairs more firmly in the hands of the Democrats.

In the selection of the state judiciary by popular vote, party lines were not drawn, the result being that while the Whigs were in the minority they furnished many of the ablest men on the bench from 1832 to 1861—William Lewis Sharkey, Cotesworth Pinckney Smith, William Yerger, Edward Turner and John Isaac Guion were Whigs.

The Democrats were defeated by the brilliant oratory of Seargent Smith Prentiss in the congressional election of 1837, and it was under his leadership that the Whig party attained its greatest prestige.

The decade from 1840 to 1850 developed such Democratic leaders as Jefferson Davis, Albert G. Brown, Henry S. Foote, John A. Quitman, John J. McRae and Jacob Thompson. These men dominated the policies of their party in Mississippi for twenty years, and it was during these years that the great questions of State and National Rights became the absorbing issues before the country.

Mississippi, by reason of its advocacy of the doctrine of the Virginia school of constitutional construction and on account of its Anglo-Saxon citizenship, was from the beginning entirely committed to the principle of state sovereignty in all the functions of government not specifically delegated to national authority. While this is true, the spirit of nationality was dominant among the people, and when the national interests were involved there was a ready

response in defense of the country. In territorial times the national feeling was manifested in the belligerent attitude of the people in their relations with Spanish neighbors, and later in their response to the call of the country for the defense of New Orleans against the English. In 1846 Governor Brown was very much offended at the national authorities because they would not accept twenty-five hundred Mississippians for service in the war with Mexico. There was no diminution of national feeling in Mississippi until 1847, when the controversy arose over the admission of new states carved out of the territory acquired from Mexico. The vote of the House of Representatives of 115 to 105 in favor of the "Wilmot Proviso" was an open avowal of the Northern states that they would not allow slaveholding territories to enter the Union.

The feeling of the South was deeply stirred by this frank avowal of a purpose to discriminate against her people in the occupation and development of the territories. The legislature of Virginia passed resolutions affirming "that the adoption and enforcement of the Wilmot Proviso would present two alternatives to the people of Virginia, one of abject submission to aggression and outrage, and the other of determined resistance at all hazards and to the last extremity." This official announcement of Virginia had a strong influence on Mississippi as well as on every other Southern state.

The state election of 1849 resulted in the success of John A. Quitman, who represented the doctrine that Congress did not have the constitutional right to restrict slavery. The Democratic and Whig parties were both committed to that position by the action of a non-partisan convention held the same year, and Quitman received many Whig votes. He was the most radical of the "Southern Rights" men,

favored secession, and at that time was far in advance of such Democratic leaders as Jefferson Davis, Henry S. Foote and Albert G. Brown.

By 1850 the danger point had been reached in the discussion of sectional issues, the leaders of the North as well as those of the South had given way to much intemperate criticism of motives, and the conservatives of the country bestirred themselves to bring about a compromise. They turned to Henry Clay, the "great pacificator," who early in 1850 introduced in the Senate his famous measure known to history as the "Compromise of 1850."

After the passage of the Clay compromise it was believed that the slavery controversy would be ended, but it had the opposite effect in Mississippi. Jefferson Davis had opposed and voted against the compromise, and all the Mississippi congressmen supported his position. Henry S. Foote, the other senator, had voted for it, and, after being condemned by the legislature, he appealed to the people by announcing himself as a candidate for governor against John A. Quitman, the candidate of the Democratic State Rights party.

In November, 1850, Foote organized the Union party, which nominated him for governor. The following of Quitman was made up of the majority of the Democratic party and an influential minority of State Rights Whigs; Foote's forces were enlisted from the old line Whigs and Union Democrats.

The first trial of strength was had in September, 1851, over the election of delegates by the people to a convention called by act of the legislature to meet in Jackson Nov. 10, 1851, to express the opinion of the people on the compromise. In that election a large majority of Union delegates were chosen, and the Quitman policy of resistance was condemned by 7,000 majority. After this decisive reverse, Quit-

man foresaw his defeat in his contest for the governorship and withdrew. Jefferson Davis was called by the Democratic party to fill the breach. He resigned his seat in the Senate, although Senator Foote had reserved his place there to fall back on in the event of his defeat, and attempted to rally his party for the November election.

When Quitman was made the candidate of the Democrats, a majority of the convention really wanted Davis as a more conservative candidate. It was suggested to Quitman that he withdraw in favor of Davis and accept the senatorship which the party proposed to give him, but he claimed the nomination as a vindication of his policies and it was given him with many misgivings.

While Mr. Davis opposed the Compromise of 1850 as taking everything from the South and giving nothing in return, he had never advocated disunion as a remedy. In his brief campaign for governor he took the position that secession was the last alternative, the final remedy, and should not be resorted to under conditions as they existed at that time. His appeals in behalf of this cause, while not successful, reduced the majority against his party from 7,000 to 1,000. Jefferson Davis has been represented as advocating the dissolution of the Union in the campaign of 1851, but such a theory is an entire misconception of his position. He believed with John C. Calhoun that the Union was being endangered by not giving the South equal rights in the territories, by nullification of the fugitive slave laws in the Northern states, and by the continual agitation of the slavery question by fanatical abolitionists. He loved the Union with perfect sincerity, and his entire course during all the troubles of 1850-60 is a refutation of the charge that he favored its dissolution.

In the presidential campaign of 1852 the state was carried for Franklin Pierce, by a good majority, on a platform of general acquiescence in the Compromise of 1850. The majority of both Democrats and Whigs were willing to stand by the compromise and were hopeful that it would at least give the country a rest from the continued agitation of the slavery question by such men as Garrison, Phillips and Burlingame. There was a concerted effort on the part of conservative men in all the states to bring about a better state of feeling by pouring oil on the troubled waters, and for a time it succeeded.

During the years between 1854 and 1860 many events occurred which reopened with increased violence the agitation of all the old issues arising out of the rights of slaveholders in the territories. Stephen A. Douglas made a deplorable blunder in introducing the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and precipitated the Kansas struggle; Mrs. Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which fired the heart of the North and prepared its people to give aid to John Brown in his mad attempt to bring about a general slave insurrection; the fugitive slave law was nullified by many Northern states, and the Supreme Court of the United States was denounced in the most violent fashion for its decision in the Dred Scott case, and a higher law was invoked. By 1860 the people of Mississippi firmly believed that it was the intention of the dominant element of the North to disregard the constitution which secured them rights in the Union, and to obliterate slavery regardless of all property rights, or of the misery it would bring. This belief had been strengthened by the revolutionary utterances of Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Seward and Wade, by the endorsement of Helper's "Impending Crisis" by Republican congressmen, and by the suggestion in Northern schoolbooks that

negro regiments from Jamaica and Hayti might be landed in the South to aid in a servile insurrection. All these things go to show that for the six years preceding the secession of the Southern states the states of the North were very aggressive in their attacks upon the South.

After the election of Abraham Lincoln a last attempt was made by Senator John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, to compromise all differences between slaveholding and non-slaveholding states. His plan of settlement was approved by Jefferson Davis, as the leader of the best sentiment of the South, and throughout the discussion in the committee of thirteen appointed to consider it, he stood ready at all times to accept it as the best solution of the dangerous problems confronting the country. Mr. Davis made a sincere effort to secure the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise, and the great majority of the people, regardless of party, favored it. The measure failed, but its failure cannot be laid at the door of Southern leaders.

In Mississippi the legislature had been called together by Governor Pettus, soon after the election of President Lincoln, for the purpose of calling a convention of delegates elected by the people to consider the then "existing relations between the government of the United States and the government and people of the state of Mississippi, and to adopt such measures of vindicating the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded."

The election of delegates to the convention took place Dec. 20, 1860, and resulted in the selection of a majority favoring secession from the Union.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*Manuscript Sources.*—The manuscript sources of Mississippi history are preserved in the state department of archives and history, and are readily accessible to the investigator. These historical materials are extensive and embrace the collected archives of the

executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and may be broadly classified as executive journals, judicial records, and minutes, archives of the various state departments, journals of constitutional conventions and a collection of unofficial manuscripts.

For a more minute description of these valuable collections see *Annual Reports* of the Director of the Department of Archives and History, 1902 to 1908, inclusive.

Printed Sources.—The printed sources of Mississippi history, 1817–1861, consist of books, newspaper files and pamphlets. A large collection of such materials is preserved in the state historical department. A brief suggestive list from these materials follows.—Baldwin: *Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi* (1853–1901); Claiborne: *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman* (2 vols., 1860); Cluskey: *Speeches and Writings of Albert G. Brown* (1859); Cobb: *Mississippi Scenes* (1851); Davis, Reuben: *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (1891); Foote: *Bench and Bar of the South and the Southwest* (1876), *Casket of Reminiscences* (1874); Ingraham: *The Southwest* (1876); Prentiss: *Memoirs of S. S. Prentiss* (2 vols., 1855, 1879, 1899); Riley: *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* (9 vols., 1898–1906); Rowland: *Mississippi Official and Statistical Registers* (2 vols., 1904–1908), *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* (2 vols., 1907; this work covering the entire field of the state's history from 1540 to 1907); Sparks: *Memoirs of Fifty Years* (1870); Van Winkle: *Nine Years of Democratic Rule* (1847), *Newspaper files—Natchez Areal* (1821–1822); *Port Gibson Correspondent* (1821); *Jackson Mississippian* (1835–1843); *Mississippi Free Trader* (Natchez, 1835–1851); *Natchez Daily Courier* (1841–1861); *Vicksburg Whig* (1842–1847); *Woodville Republican* (1826–1848).

For lists of newspaper files and pamphlets see *Annual Report* of the Department of Archives and History (1908).

DUNBAR ROWLAND,
Director, Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.

CHAPTER III.

MISSISSIPPI IN THE CONFEDERACY, 1861-1865.

Secession of Mississippi.

Immediately after the election of President Lincoln, Gov. John J. Pettus issued a call for a special session of the legislature of the state to meet in

Jackson, Nov. 26, 1860. In accordance with the advice of the representatives of the state in both branches of Congress, who met in Jackson four days before the legislature assembled, the governor inserted in his message to that body a recommendation that it call a convention for the purpose of withdrawing from the Union without awaiting the action of other states. On the third day of the legislative session the recommendation was formally approved by the adoption of a resolution, providing for a convention to meet at Jackson, Jan. 7, 1861, and declaring that "secession by the aggrieved states, for their grievances, is the remedy" to be applied to the emergency then confronting the South.

Upon the recommendation of Governor Pettus the legislature authorized him to appoint commissioners to visit the other Southern states to inform them that Mississippi did not "intend to submit to the sectional administration about to be inaugurated at Washington," and to secure their coöperation in the establishment of an independent nation. The reports and speeches of nine out of the sixteen men chosen for this important service are still preserved. They show that the commissioners were received by the states to which they were accredited as the ambassadors from a sovereign and independent nation, and as such were treated with great distinction.

The special session of the legislature then adjourned after providing for a new coat of arms for the state and adopting a joint resolution justifying its action.

The secession convention assembled in the hall of representatives at Jackson, Jan. 7, 1861. Ninety-eight delegates answered to the first roll-call, and the two absentees were in their seats on the following morning. The delegates were divided into two classes—the "unconditional secessionists," who

were determined on secession at any cost, and the "coöperationists," who were in favor of secession "only upon condition that the border states between the two sections would coöperate in the movement." The latter class constituted only about one-third of the convention.

Upon the organization of the convention by the election of William S. Barry, of Lowndes county, president, Mr. L. Q. C. Lamar, then in his thirty-seventh year, presented a resolution providing for the appointment of a commission of fifteen "with instructions to prepare and report as speedily as possible an ordinance providing for the withdrawal of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union, with a view to the establishment of a new Confederacy, to be composed of the seceding states." The resolution was passed, and on the third day of the convention Mr. Lamar, as chairman of the committee, reported "an ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Mississippi and the states united with her under the compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'" A substitute motion "providing for the final adjustment of all difficulties between the free and slave states of the United States, by securing further constitutional guarantees within the present Union," was promptly rejected by a vote of twenty-one to seventy-eight. An amendment to postpone the application of the ordinance until, at least, the states of Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana had taken a similar step, and another to submit the question to the qualified electors of the states were defeated by overwhelming majorities, the votes being twenty-five to seventy-four on the former, and twenty-nine to seventy on the latter proposition. The yeas and nays having been ordered on the final passage of the ordinance, the secretary called

L. Q. C. LAMAR.

the roll slowly, the first name being James L. Alcorn. As he had been an ardent "coöperationist," all who were present awaited his vote with much interest. He arose and responded with much feeling: "Mr. President, the die is cast; the rubicon is crossed; I follow the army that goes to Rome; I vote for the ordinance." When the roll-call had proceeded until it was manifest that the state would sever its connection with the Union, tears came into the eyes of the delegates and of the large throng of spectators who had assembled to view the solemn proceedings.

In less than an hour from the time of its introduction, the ordinance was adopted by a vote of eighty-four to fifteen, only one delegate being absent. The profound silence which followed the announcement of the vote was finally broken by the earnest tones of a minister who, in eloquent words, invoked the Divine blessings on the step just taken, while the delegates and spectators, standing with bowed heads, joined in the invocation.

Immediately thereafter a gentleman entered the hall bearing "a beautiful silk flag with a single white star in the centre," which the president of the convention received, remarking, after a brief pause, that it was the first flag to be unfolded "in the young republic." The delegates then saluted it by rising, and the hall rang with the shouts of applause from the multitude of spectators. This scene gave rise to the popular war-song "The Bonnie Blue Flag that Bears a Single Star," written by one of the spectators, who first sang it in the old theatre in Jackson on the night of the following day. An eye witness of many of these stirring scenes says that "illuminations and artillery salutes in Jackson and elsewhere * * * expressed the popular approval of this drama in the history of the state."

The ordinance having been engrossed on parchment was signed by ninety-eight members of the convention in the presence of the governor and the members of the legislature on Jan. 15, 1861. Although one of the delegates present, Dr. J. J. Thornton, of Rankin county, refused to sign the document, he was one of the first volunteers to enter the army of the Confederacy. The only other delegate who failed to sign the ordinance, John W. Wood, of Attala, did not attend the final session of the convention.

The secession convention also adopted "An address setting forth the Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of Mississippi from the Federal Union." It placed the state on a war footing, and elected a major-general (Jefferson Davis) and four brigadier-generals (Earl Van Dorn, Charles Clark, James L. Alcorn and C. H. Mott) to take charge of the military forces of the little nation. Wiley P. Harris, Walter Brooke, William S. Wilson, A. M. Clayton, W. S. Barry, James T. Harrison and J. A. P. Campbell were chosen to represent the state in a convention of the seceding states to meet in Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 14, 1861, for the purpose of framing a constitution for the new Confederacy. After a session of seventeen days the secession convention of Mississippi then adjourned subject to the call of the president. It reassembled on March 25, 1861, and ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States by a vote of seventy-eight to seven.

When notified of the action of the state in seceding from the Union, the senators and representatives from Mississippi in Congress promptly resigned their seats and returned to their homes. In his farewell address to the United States Senate, Jefferson Davis made a brief and dignified defense

of the step which his state had taken. This memorable address, "neither apologetic nor aggressive," but chaste in diction and elevated in sentiment, was widely published and everywhere received as a statement of the views and incentives that actuated the people of the seceding states. On February 9 he was elected by the Montgomery convention to serve as President of the Confederacy. Although he had neither sought nor desired this position, he promptly went to Montgomery, where he was inaugurated, Feb. 18, 1861.

Preparations for the Conflict.

As a result of the election of President Lincoln in November, 1860, military companies were organized in Mississippi at the rate of from seven to eight a week, numbering from fifty to sixty men each. At the time of the signing of the ordinance of secession (Jan. 15, 1861) there were sixty-five companies of volunteers in the state. On Jan. 23, 1861, the secession convention revised the military law of 1860 and placed the state on a war footing, as stated above.

Wiley P. Harris, of Jackson, Miss., wrote to President Davis, Sept. 30, 1861: "You would be struck with the aspect which our state now presents. Except in the principal towns, the country appears to be deserted. There are not more men left than the demands of society and the police of the slave-holding country actually require. The state has put in the field and in camp about 25,000 men. This exceeds her proportion." A few weeks later Governor Pettus estimated that the number of Mississippi volunteers had increased to over 35,000, "which is probably," he adds, "a larger proportion of the adult male population than any state or nation has sent to war in modern times."

The problem of arming and equipping this large

number of troops was a serious one. A few of the most wealthy planters in the state equipped companies at their own expense. Flintlock muskets were changed for the use of percussion caps, and with these a large number of troops were armed for battle. Churches gave their bells and housewives their copper and brass cooking utensils to be used in making cannon. Spinning wheels and looms were taxed to their utmost capacity to make clothing for the use of the soldiers.

Several days before the meeting of the Montgomery convention for the purpose of forming the Confederacy, Mississippi had entered actively into military operations on her own account. In obedience to an order from Governor Pettus to "prevent any hostile expedition from the Northern states descending the river" (Mississippi), troops stationed at Vicksburg fired upon the steamer *O. A. Tyler,* from Cincinnati, on Jan. 11, 1861. Another force of about 1,500 men, ordered to meet at Enterprise on the same day, was soon (January 13) on its way to Pensacola to help capture Fort Pickens. On January 15 Mississippi troops made an attack upon the Federal naval works on Ship Island, capturing the same in a third assault on the morning of the 20th.

In the latter part of March, 1861, twenty companies of Mississippi troops were sent to Pensacola under the command of Gen. Charles Clark. They were there organized into two regiments and transferred (April 14) to the command of General Bragg, being the first Mississippi troops to enter the provisional army of the Confederate states.

Beginning of Hostilities in the State.

The advance into Mississippi of 100,000 Federal troops under General Grant after the battle of Shiloh (April 6, 1862) marks the beginning of hostil-

ities in the northern part of the state. When this formidable army entrenched itself before Corinth, General Beauregard, having only 53,000 men, was forced to evacuate the place and retire fifty-five miles south to Tupelo, which he made a base of operations. Here he was superseded by General Bragg. General Rosecrans fortified Corinth and made it a base of supplies. About this time Holly Springs was captured by a Federal force. General Rosecrans attacked General Price at Iuka on September 19, and forced him to retreat to Baldwin.

General Van Dorn made a daring and bloody attempt to recapture Corinth (Oct. 3-4, 1862), but was repulsed with great loss after having taken part of the town. The Confederate army then retreated toward Ripley and later to Grenada, where it was stationed when the second campaign was inaugurated against Vicksburg. As the campaigns against Vicksburg were among the most important of the war, a more detailed account of them will now be given.

Campaigns Against Vicksburg.

The Confederate government depended on a small fleet of gunboats above Memphis and a few guns at Memphis, and the two forts, Jackson and St. Philip, near the mouth of the river, for the protection of the river and for keeping it under Confederate control. Early in the war the Union troops had gained Kentucky and Tennessee, destroyed the Confederate gunboats and taken possession of the upper river almost to Memphis.

The United States government sent a large squadron under Admiral Farragut, with a flotilla of gunboats, mortar-boats and transports bearing an army under Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, to the mouth of the Mississippi (May, 1862). By capturing the forts at the mouth of the river and taking

possession of New Orleans, this force opened the river as far north as Vicksburg.

Admiral Farragut at once steamed up the river to Vicksburg, carrying with him thirty-five vessels, including nine ocean war vessels, eighteen mortar-boats and transport boats, with 3,000 troops. He appeared before Vicksburg May 18, 1862. About the same time Memphis fell, and the upper river gun-boat fleet came down the river and anchored above the city.

Upon the fall of New Orleans the Confederate government, seeing the danger that threatened Vicksburg, hastily sent a few heavy guns and troops to defend it. These were scarcely mounted when Farragut demanded the surrender of the city. The citizens of the place were well-nigh unanimous in saying "the city must be defended, even if all our houses and property are destroyed." The two great Federal fleets then bombarded the city until July 18—two months.

We are told that "one of the most brilliant naval feats recorded in the annals of naval warfare" occurred on July 15, 1862. On that day the Confederate ram *Arkansas,* which had been built partly at Memphis and partly near Yazoo City, under the direction of the gallant Mississippian, Capt. Isaac N. Brown, ran out of the mouth of the Yazoo River, and "single-handed attacked the whole Federal fleet, including Admiral Farragut's squadron of eight vessels and Admiral Davis's gunboat fleet of twelve vessels." She reached the wharf at Vicksburg after losing about half of her crew, but, being disabled, was finally blown up by her officers to prevent her capture by the Union fleet. The Federal authorities having decided that Vicksburg could not be taken from the water front, brought the first campaign to an end.

The second campaign against Vicksburg was begun in December, 1862. Gen. W. T. Sherman, after being largely reinforced, was directed to move rapidly down the river with his fleet to take Vicksburg, which was then held by only about 5,000 Confederate troops, before General Pemberton with 21,000 men could go from Grenada to the relief of the city.

General Grant, then in the vicinity of Oxford and Water Valley, with an army of 50,000 Federal troops, had planned to attack the Confederate army at Grenada or to follow it towards Vicksburg if it left his front. Although these expeditions were well planned, both of them failed. General Sherman with his force of 33,000 men and sixty guns descended the river and disembarked near the mouth of Chickasaw Bayou, ten miles from Vicksburg. In attempting to lead his army to the hills several miles distant, he encountered a small Confederate force of about 2,500 men under Gen. Stephen D. Lee and was disastrously repulsed with an Union loss of 1,776 killed, wounded and prisoners, and a Confederate loss of only 120 men. This battle took place near the head of Chickasaw Bayou six miles from Vicksburg on Dec. 29, 1862.

General Grant's plans also failed of execution because of cavalry raids under Gen. N. B. Forrest and Gen. Earl Van Dorn. The first of these raids in west Tennessee destroyed bridges and tore up sixty miles of the railroad over which the supplies for the Federal army were to be transported. The second, captured and destroyed the Federal stores amounting to several million dollars that had been collected at Holly Springs. These two skilfully-planned raids forced General Grant to move his army to Memphis and enabled General Pemberton to go to the relief of Vicksburg. When the Confederate reinforcements from Grenada began to arrive

in Vicksburg, General Sherman reëmbarked his army upon his transports (Jan. 3, 1863) and disappeared from before the city.

The third campaign against Vicksburg was begun in January, 1863, immediately upon the failure of the preceding one. It terminated successfully for the Union army on July 4, 1863. Upon his return to Memphis General Grant put his army on transports and descended the Mississippi River, being reinforced by General McClernand, who had superseded General Sherman after his failure to take Vicksburg.

The united armies, which numbered over 50,000 men, encamped on the Louisiana side of the river. During the months of January, February, March and part of April, numerous attempts were made in connection with Admiral Porter's gunboat fleet and the transports to force a passage through the bayous and rivers in the delta between the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers and to reach the highlands north of Vicksburg. By cutting the levee at Yazoo Pass on the Mississippi side a force under General McPherson was enabled to enter the Coldwater and Tallahatchie rivers, and the smaller gunboats and transports succeeded in getting within a few miles of the Yazoo River, where they were stopped by the guns at Fort Pemberton on the Tallahatchie River. About 30,000 Union troops were engaged in this attempt. A similar attempt was made by Admiral Porter and General Sherman to get through Steele's Bayou and Deer Creek into Sunflower River and into the Yazoo. This also failed. An unsuccessful effort was then made to get below Vicksburg from Lake Providence through a bayou into the Red River and thence into the Mississippi. General Grant also attempted to change the channel of the Mississippi by means of a canal dug opposite the city of Vicksburg, so as to

cause the river to make a new bed with its waters emptying below the city. This plan also failed.

General Grant then decided upon the bold plan of running his gunboats and transports by the batteries at Vicksburg in order to provide facilities for crossing to the Mississippi side below the city with a part of his army which he marched below Vicksburg on the Louisiana side of the river. His boats successfully passed the batteries on the night of April 16 and again a few nights later. General Grant then landed with two corps of nearly 35,000 men at Bruinsburg, Miss., leaving a third corps on the opposite side of the river to threaten the bluffs to the north of Vicksburg. With his troops that had crossed the river he marched rapidly toward Port Gibson before General Pemberton could concentrate his forces to check the advance. General Bowen with about 5,000 men stationed at Grand Gulf attempted to stop General Grant, but was defeated near Port Gibson (May 1) and driven across the Big Black River.

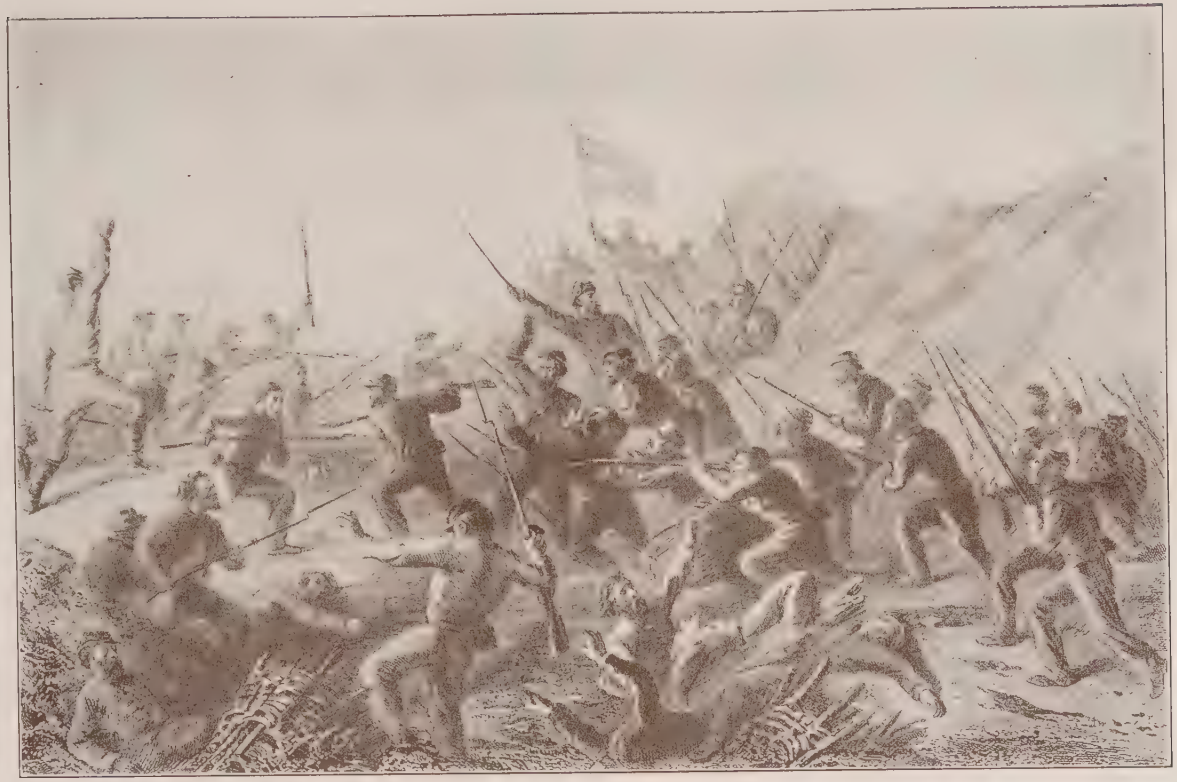
In the meantime several Federal cavalry raids into different parts of Mississippi forced General Pemberton to send Confederate troops from Vicksburg for the protection of public and private property, thereby greatly reducing the forces available for the protection of the city. The most celebrated of these raids was that made by a force under General Grierson, who passed through the state from La Grange, Tenn., to Baton Rouge, La. (April 17-May 2, 1863). Other similar raids penetrated to different parts of the state from the Memphis and Charleston railroad between Memphis and Corinth.

After the battle near Port Gibson, General Grant's army rested near the Big Black River until he was reinforced by General Sherman. About May 8 the Federal army, numbering about 42,000 men,

moved toward Raymond and Jackson. They succeeded in cutting off Confederate reinforcements attempting to reach Vicksburg. On May 12, a Confederate brigade was encountered at Raymond and forced back to Jackson. One corps of General Grant's army then marched to Jackson by way of Clinton, while another corps went to the same destination by another route. As Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who had reached Jackson on the evening of May 13, had only a small body of Confederate troops at his command, he was forced to evacuate the city. He made a show of resistance, however, in order to gain time to move some of his supplies and the state archives before the entrance of the Federal army. After an engagement which lasted several hours, the Union army marched in and destroyed the supplies that had been left and burned several buildings, including the Catholic church and the penitentiary.

General Johnston, having withdrawn from the city to the north, sent dispatches to General Pemberton, who was near Vicksburg, suggesting that he attack the Union army at Clinton. These dispatches were delivered by a Union spy to General Grant, who promptly arranged to thwart the plans of the Confederates. In order to prevent the junction of Pemberton's and Johnston's forces, he planned to concentrate several divisions of the Federal army near Edwards. Then followed the battle of Champion Hill or Baker's Creek, May 16, in which the Confederates with only 15,000 men, after offering a gallant resistance to 35,843 Union soldiers, were forced to retreat across Baker's Creek. After another small engagement at a railroad bridge over Big Black River (May 17), the greater part of General Pemberton's army retired within the intrenchments surrounding Vicksburg.

The memorable siege of Vicksburg began after



SIEGE OF VICKSBURG, REPULSING A FEDERAL SORTIE.

General Pemberton's return to the city, and lasted forty-seven days (from May 18 to July 4, 1863). On May 19 and May 22 General Grant attempted to take the city by assault, but was repulsed with a loss of about 5,000 men. He was rapidly reinforced, however, until his army numbered about 75,000 men. He placed about 220 guns in position, and the city was encircled on the land side by his troops and on the river front by Admiral Porter's formidable fleet. The besieged city, containing only 17,000 effective Confederate troops, was virtually surrounded by "a sheet of bayonets and fire." General Johnston, who had succeeded in collecting an army of 25,000 or 30,000 men, planned in vain to go to the relief of General Pemberton. We are told that the fleet threw into the city "day and night the largest shells and shots known in modern warfare." The besieging infantry and artillery on the land side kept up a continuous fire on the entrenched army within the city. The scream of shells and the roar of cannon were at times almost deafening. The inhabitants sought refuge in caves dug into the hillsides. As the siege advanced the supply of food was exhausted, and hunger and exposure produced diseases which became so widespread that, when the heroic resistance of the besieged city came to an end on July 4, 1863, 8,000 men were reported sick. With the fall of Port Hudson, four days later, the work of opening the Mississippi River to Federal commerce was completed.

Closing Incidents of the War in the State.

On July 12, 1863, General Sherman made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Jackson, from which the Federal army had withdrawn May 14. General Johnston again evacuated the city because of the superior numbers of the Union force, and retreated

to Brandon on July 16. He was followed by part of General Sherman's army which, after capturing Brandon and destroying the railroad, returned with the rest of the Federal forces to Vicksburg.

After the fall of Vicksburg the greater part of the Confederate forces were transferred to other states, leaving only a small infantry force in the state. In the autumn of 1863 and the winter following, cavalry forces were organized by Gen. Stephen D. Lee and Gen. N. B. Forrest to protect the state against Federal raids. Many small engagements followed in which the Confederates were generally victorious. One of the most disastrous raids was made in the winter of 1864 by General Sherman with a force of over 30,000 men. He made an expedition from Vicksburg to Meridian along the line of the Alabama and Vicksburg railroad, being ineffectually opposed from the Big Black River to the latter place by General Lee with a small cavalry force of only 2,500 men. In this raid the Federal forces laid waste the country through which they passed, burning and destroying public and private property. They burned Meridian and destroyed the railroads leading into that city, warping the railroad irons so as to make them utterly useless. They returned to Vicksburg by a route to the north of the one they had just traveled, continuing their work of destruction. The following extracts from General Sherman's reports give an insight into the character of his work: "We are absolutely stripping the country of corn, cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, everything, and the new-growing corn is being thrown open as pasture fields or hauled for the use of our animals. The wholesale destruction to which the country is now being subjected is terrible to contemplate." "We have desolated this land for thirty miles round about [Jackson]. There are

about eight hundred women and children who will perish unless they receive some relief." "There was and is too great a tendency to plunder and pillage, confined to a few men, that reflects discredit on us all."

Gen. William Sooy Smith with a cavalry force of 7,000 men made a cavalry raid into north Mississippi, intending to unite with General Sherman's force at Meridian. This expedition got only as far as West Point, Miss., where its work of destruction was arrested by General Forrest. This raid resulted in the destruction of the railroads and much property as far as it extended, over 3,000 mules and as many negroes being carried off.

Shortly after these raids Mississippi was again deprived of a large part of the troops that had been collected for her defense, General Lee's division of cavalry with what infantry had been left in the state being sent to reinforce Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's army in Georgia. The only troops left in Mississippi were Forrest's cavalry in the northern part of the state, and a small brigade under Gen. Wirt Adams near Jackson.

At Brice's Cross-Roads (June 10) General Forrest met and completely routed a large Federal force of cavalry and infantry that had been sent from Memphis to defeat him, gaining one of the most signal victories of the war for the forces engaged. In the following month another Federal force of about 15,000 men under Gen. A. J. Smith was sent against General Forrest. Several engagements were fought near Pontotoc and Tupelo, July 16-19, ending in a drawn battle at Harrisburg, near the latter place, in which Generals Lee and Forrest lost nearly 1,000 men. The Federal force then retreated to Memphis.

Mississippi Troops in Other States.

Before the end of hostilities, Mississippi furnished over 70,000 troops to the armies of the Confederacy. They did heroic services in the armies of Robert E. Lee, the Johnstons, Beauregard, Bragg, Hood, and of other Confederate generals in less important commands. In the battle of Shiloh the Sixth Mississippi Regiment lost 70.5 per cent. of those engaged; at Sharpsburg the Sixteenth Mississippi lost 63.1 per cent.; at Chickamauga the Twenty-ninth Mississippi lost 52.7 per cent.; at Murfreesboro the Eighth Mississippi lost 47.1 per cent.; in the Seven Days' battle around Richmond, at Gaines' Mill and Glendale, Featherston's Mississippi Brigade lost 49.3 per cent. and Longstreet's division 50 per cent.

A list of all the gallant officers who were furnished by the state to the Confederate army cannot be given in this connection. No treatment of the military record of Mississippi would be completed, however, without mentioning the following commanders whose valuable services reflect credit upon the history of the state: Maj.-Gen. Earl Van Dorn, the dashing cavalry leader; Capt. Isaac N. Brown, the brave commander of the Confederate ram *Arkansas;* Brig.-Gen. Richard Griffith, who fell in the Seven Days' battle around Richmond; Brig.-Gen. Carnot Posey, who was killed at the head of his command at Bristow Station; Brig.-Gen. William Barksdale, whose services at Gettysburg have made "the place where Barksdale fell" a spot of historic interest, and Maj.-Gen. E. C. Walthall, who served throughout the war without asking for "a hard place for glory" or "a soft place for comfort." In the Georgia campaign Maj.-Gen. William T. Martin and Brigadier-Generals Wirt Adams, W. S. Featherston, S. W. Ferguson, M. P. Lowrey, C. W. Sears, J. H. Sharp and J. A. Smith rendered conspicuous serv-

ices. Mississippi was represented in Virginia by Brigadier-Generals B. G. Humphreys, Nathaniel H. Harris, Joseph R. Davis and Col. J. M. Stone. Generals J. R. Chalmers, Robert Lowry, S. G. French and others also rendered valuable services in this great conflict.

Government During the War Period.

The history of the government of Mississippi while in the Confederacy may be briefly summarized as follows: John J. Pettus, who was chief executive of the state when it seceded from the Union, was reëlected almost without opposition in October, 1861. He was succeeded by Charles Clark, who was governor of the state from Nov. 16, 1863, to May 22, 1865, when he was removed by Federal troops, being followed by Judge William L. Sharkey as provisional governor by the appointment of President Johnson.

During the greater part of the connection of the state with the Confederacy, the sessions of the state legislature were devoted to the consideration of matters pertaining to the war and to the welfare of the soldiers in the army. In anticipation of the capture of the state capital by the Federal army in 1863, the public records of Mississippi were removed to Meridian. They were afterwards moved to Enterprise, Columbus and Macon, in the order named. The legislature met at Macon and at Columbus, General Clark being inaugurated at the latter place.

Upon the fall of the Confederacy in 1865, Governor Clark issued a proclamation from Meridian the day after the surrender of General Taylor near that place in which he directed the legislature to assemble in extraordinary session at Jackson on May 18 to provide for a state convention. In this proclamation he enjoined all county officers to be

watchful in the preservation of order and the protection of property. "Let all citizens," he said, "fearlessly adhere to the fortunes of the state, assist the returning soldiers to obtain civil employment, and meet facts with fortitude and common sense." The legislature was in session only about one hour when the report came that General Osband, of the Federal army, had received orders to arrest the members. It was hastily dissolved and the members left the capital in great confusion. In its brief session, however, provision was made for the appointment of a committee to go to Washington in order to confer with the President in regard to the situation.

In a short time a Federal officer demanded that Governor Clark vacate his office and surrender the archives of the state. Upon leaving the office the governor said: "I comply with your demands only because I am forced to do so, and protest in the name of freedom and justice against this act of lawless usurpation on the part of the President of the United States." Governor Clark was then arrested and sent to Fort Pulaski, Savannah, where he was imprisoned. This act marks the beginning of the period of Federal interference with the civil affairs of the state.

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FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY,
Professor of History, University of Mississippi.

CHAPTER IV.

MISSISSIPPI A PART OF THE NATION, 1865-1909.

Reorganization of State Government, 1865-1868.

In according military honors to the Mississippi troops surrendered by Gen. Richard Taylor, Gen. E. R. Canby had followed the example of General Grant in his magnanimous policy of conciliation, and his generosity and manly bearing had favorably impressed the gallant men who had made an heroic struggle for Southern independence. Both officers and men returned to their desolated homes with the full determination to accept in good faith the results of the war, and to meet the responsibilities which they had assumed.

The governor of Mississippi at this time was Charles Clark, a native of Ohio. When Governor Clark was informed by General Taylor of his intention to surrender, he decided that the proper course to pursue was to issue a call for a meeting of the legislature, to recommend that the people accept in good faith the results of the war, and to send a commission to Washington to consult the President as

to the necessary steps for the restoration of the state to the Union. On May 6, 1865, the governor issued a proclamation calling the legislature to meet in Jackson on May 18. The legislature responded to the call and met May 20, 1865. The governor sent in a message in which he recommended calling a constitutional convention, repealing the ordinance of secession, remodeling the state constitution and appointing a commission to consult the President on the subject of the restoration of the state to the Union.

After the message of the governor had been read, the legislature was informed by General Osband, the commander of a brigade of negro troops stationed at Jackson, that the members would be arrested if they attempted to exercise the functions of a law-making body. This threat of interference by the military authorities caused the legislature to adjourn after a brief session, at which it provided for a convention to be held July 3; and the appointment of three commissioners "to consult with President Johnson as to a plan for restoring the State of Mississippi to harmonious relations with the Federal Government, on such a basis as will tend to perpetuate the liberty and prosperity of the American people." Resolutions were adopted deploring the assassination of President Lincoln and the attempt on the life of Secretary Seward, and repudiating the charge that Jefferson Davis and Jacob Thompson were implicated.

After the adjournment of the legislature, General Osband notified the governor that he could not recognize the civil government of Mississippi, placed a guard over the departments in the state house, demanded the custody of public buildings and archives, and fixed May 22, 1865, as the date for delivery.

The last official act of Governor Clark, as recorded

in his official journal, bears date of May 22, 1865, and is the appointment of William L. Sharkey, William Yerger and Thomas J. Wharton as commissioners to consult the President concerning the speedy restoration of Mississippi to the Union. On the same day the governor was arrested in the executive office by General Osband, and was soon after imprisoned in Fort Pulaski, Savannah, on a charge of treason. This action of the military authorities deprived the state of even a semblance of a government, and created a feeling of dismay and apprehension in the minds of the people. This state of uncertainty and fear was somewhat relieved by the President's proclamation of May 29 regarding the restoration of North Carolina, which revealed his policy toward the states of the Southern Confederacy. A short time after their appointment William L. Sharkey and William Yerger went to Washington to consult the President; the third commissioner was unable to go. While the people of the state had been somewhat reassured by the North Carolina proclamation of the President, the interregnum which began with the arrest of Governor Clark left them without any of the forms of civil government, and this state of affairs continued until June 13.

The selection of Judge Sharkey and Judge Yerger to represent the interests of the state at Washington was wise, and could not have been improved upon. They had been eminent members of the high court of errors and appeals, both were old-line Whigs with decided leanings to the Union, and both had the confidence and good-will of the people. On arriving in Washington they met with a cordial reception from the President, but he informed them that they could not be received officially as commissioners representing the state of Mississippi. In replying to

their representations, the President asked if the plan for the reorganization of North Carolina would be acceptable to them and to the people of Mississippi. After expressing a preference for the plan adopted by the legislature, the commissioners accepted the plan proposed by the President. On June 13 President Johnson issued a proclamation, as commander-in-chief of the army, appointing William L. Sharkey provisional governor of Mississippi.

The appointment of Judge Sharkey removed much of the doubt and depression which were universal at the time throughout Mississippi. He belonged to that school of Whig statesmen of which Henry Clay, John Bell and John J. Crittenden were the best types. He was, by nature, a pacificator, and his long service as chief justice of the high court of errors and appeals had given him a place in the confidence and affections of the people which even the bitterness and disasters of war could not shake. In order to promote a return of confidence he directed the county and municipal judges, and other officials in office on May 22, to resume their duties. He ordered an election for August 7 for delegates to a constitutional convention to meet August 14, and made some necessary appointments of state officials.

Soon after the inauguration of the provisional government a conflict arose with the military authorities over the enforcement of the criminal laws. A judge issued a writ of habeas corpus to a military officer who had arrested a citizen of the state on a charge of murder, and the officer not only refused to obey the writ but arrested the judge for issuing it.

The constitutional convention met in Jackson August 14. The political affiliation of its members is interesting to show the trend of public opinion as compared with 1861. In the convention of 1861 there were eighty-four Democrats and twenty-five

Whigs; the convention of 1865 was composed of seventy Whigs and eighteen Democrats; seven delegates of the convention were members of the convention of 1861, only one of whom voted for secession.

The convention, regardless of party, was divided into two sections—those in favor of accepting the results of the war, and those who proposed to contend for emancipated slaves on the ground that depriving the Southern people of property without compensation was a great public wrong. The convention was the first one in the South held under the President's reconstruction policy, and its attitude was anxiously watched by the people of the entire country. The two questions to decide were: first, should the abolition of slavery be recognized, and, second, what place should the negro occupy under the laws? The sentiment of the convention was in favor of acquiescing in emancipation, and leaving the status of the negro as a citizen to be determined by each state. By a vote of eighty-seven to eleven this policy was adopted by the convention, and was incorporated in the constitution. The convention also declared the ordinance of secession to be null and void, and further provided for a general election on the first Monday in October, the legislature to meet on the third Monday. The work of the convention met the approval of the President, and he expressed the confident hope that the example of Mississippi would be followed by the other Southern states.

The result of the election in October, on the whole, indicated a willingness to abide by existing conditions. Gen. Benjamin G. Humphreys, late of the Army of Northern Virginia, but a Union man before the war, was elected governor; the congressmen elected had all opposed secession, and the three judges of the high court of errors and appeals had favored it.

The legislature met October 16, and after an ad-

dress by Judge Sharkey the governor-elect took the oath of office, delivered his inaugural address and was declared governor of the state of Mississippi. Judge Sharkey in his address said that he was "proud to say that Mississippi had taken the lead in the work of reorganization, and that without any light for her guidance, she had set an example to her sister states that is being deemed worthy of emulation, and with the most beneficial results to the South." Governor Sharkey was not regularly relieved of his duties until December 14, when he was notified that he could give way to the governor elected by the people.

In his inaugural address, Governor Humphreys said that emancipation had imposed a great duty upon the state. "Several hundred thousand of the negro race, unfitted for political equality with the white race, have been turned loose upon society; and in the guardianship she may assume over this race she must deal justly with them and protect them in all their rights of person and property. The highest degree of elevation in the scale of civilization to which they are capable, morally and intellectually, must be secured to them by their education and religious training, but they cannot be admitted to political or social equality with the white race."

During the first eight months of Governor Humphrey's administration about 9,000 negro troops were retained for duty in Mississippi. There was little discipline among them and they were allowed to go about fully armed and were permitted to assist authority in a way most offensive and humiliating to their former masters. It was not possible for such men to perform the duties assigned them without exciting resentment. They terrorized the weak and helpless of both races, defied the civil authority and advised the people of their race not to work.

GOV. B. G. HUMPHREYS.

The legislature refused to ratify the Thirteenth amendment, on the ground that the amendment to the state constitution covered the same subject and further action was unnecessary. At a special session of the legislature, 1866-67, it also refused to ratify the Fourteenth amendment, on the ground that "the voting class should not be swollen by sudden and large infusions of ignorance and prejudice."

In the meantime Congress refused to recognize the Mississippi senators and representatives selected under the Johnson plan of reconstruction, and on March 2, 1867, adopted over the President's veto the military reconstruction act, which had for its purpose the control of the Southern states by negro votes. Under the act Mississippi was made a subdistrict, under the military orders of Gen. Alvan C. Gillem, his immediate superior being Gen. E. O. C. Ord, in command of the fourth district. Under his order an election was held for delegates to a constitutional convention to be held Jan. 9, 1868, the delegates to be elected by the male citizens of the state, twenty-one years old and upwards, "of whatever race, color or previous condition of servitude," residents for one year, and not disfranchised. The registration of voters under the reconstruction acts was the duty of the military commander. As the registration proceeded, it was shown in September that 60,167 negroes and 46,636 white men had been allowed to qualify as voters. This was a startling demonstration of the folly and stupidity of negro suffrage in Mississippi.

The constitutional convention assembled in Jackson Jan. 9, 1868, and adjourned May 17. It was controlled completely by men representing the basest element of the population, and seventeen of its members were negroes. It was necessarily a crude and revolutionary body, and the constitution

it formed, on being submitted to the people June 22, 1868, was defeated, 56,231 votes being cast for and 63,860 against it. At the same election Humphreys was reëlected governor by 8,000 majority, according to the official report of the result given out by General Gillem. As the defeat of the constitution required the continuance of existing conditions with Governor Humphreys in charge of civil affairs, its friends attempted to overthrow the result as declared by Gillem by appealing to Congress.

On June 4 General Gillem was succeeded in command of the fourth district by Gen. Irwin McDowell, who, a few days later, issued an order for the removal of Governor Humphreys and Attorney-General Hooker on the ground that they were obstructing the enforcement of the reconstruction laws. Gen. Adelbert Ames was ordered to assume the duties of provisional governor, and Capt. Jasper Myers was detailed to fill the office of attorney-general. Ames went to Jackson and notified Governor Humphreys of what had been done. The governor replied that he regarded the proposed removal as an usurpation and in violation of the constitution of the United States, and that President Johnson had disapproved the order. "I must therefore," said he, "in view of my duty to the constitutional rights of the people of Mississippi, and of the disapproval of the President, refuse to vacate the office of governor, or surrender the archives and public property until a legally qualified successor under the constitution of Mississippi is appointed." On the next day, June 15, 1868, the governor was forcibly ejected from his office in the capitol by a detail of soldiers under orders from Colonel Biddle, post-commandant at Jackson. By such methods was the civil authority violently overthrown by the military.

Military Government, 1868-1870.

The civil government of Mississippi, which was overthrown by the force of military authority, had been in operation nearly three years.

Under conditions as they existed for three years after the war, local government in Mississippi was under the control of natives to the soil. These men were making a faithful effort to adjust their institutions to conditions without a parallel in the experience of civilized communities. A reasonable degree of success had attended their efforts, some mistakes had been made and some wrongs had been committed by the less responsible element, but nothing had been done to justify the passage of a law which disfranchised honest, intelligent men, and enfranchised those who were ignorant, depraved and vicious.

The reconstruction act was passed possibly without a full knowledge of its terrible results, as the debates seem to indicate that the effect of negro rule, which was the inevitable outcome of such legislation, was not the subject of discussion. The members of Congress knew nothing of the real situation in the South, and made no effort to gather reliable information. It was the opinion of some of the best men in the North that there was nothing in the situation of affairs which justified even military rule. Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, advised that the burden of responsibility be placed on the Southern people. "They have," he said, "the brain and the experience and the education to enable them to understand the exigencies of the present situation." Louis Agassiz, the great scientist, looked with loathing upon the enfranchisement of an ignorant, servile and alien race. In their frenzied zeal for the elevation of the negro who was incapable of self-government, such men as Sumner and Stevens forgot

the rights of a race that had been self-governing for centuries.

The effect of the reconstruction act, as construed by General Ames, was the complete annihilation of all civil government as it had existed during the administrations of Sharkey and Humphreys; and in the exercise of his powers he assumed all the functions of the executive, legislative and judicial departments of government. During the first seven months of military rule the county officers were allowed to continue to discharge their duties; but this policy did not meet the approval of the carpet-baggers who clamored for the "rebels" to be turned out. Congress had been urged by a committee of these men to declare all offices vacant, that they might be filled by "loyal citizens." In response to the demands of the committee, Congress passed a joint resolution declaring that all office-holders of Mississippi who could not take and subscribe to the oath of July 2, 1862, should be removed and the vacancies filled by the military commander. On March 23, 1869, General Ames issued General Orders No. 16, declaring that "all civil offices in this District which have been held by persons whose legal disabilities have not been removed, and who cannot take the oath prescribed by the Act of Congress of July 2, 1862, are vacant." The result of this order was the summary removal of officials from governor to constable. These positions had been filled by men selected by the people, they had qualified under the laws of the state, and held the respect and confidence of the communities in which they lived. Under the terms of the order, the respectable and responsible native whites could not hold office, hence it was impossible to fill the vacated offices with honest, capable men. It was necessary to appoint 2,000 officials from the motley crowd that remained

after the exclusion of the intelligent, influential men of the state. There could only be one result from such a policy—the handing over of the government to alien whites who were not citizens of the state, and to a horde of ignorant negroes who were taught to believe that the property was to be turned over to them by their new-found friends. General Ames excused his appointments by claiming that it was the best he could do under the circumstances. The great majority of his appointees were incompetent and dishonest, and were more intent upon gain than duty. Even after the appointment of "loyal citizens" to all the public offices of the state, the governor would frequently remove them when they refused to support all his measures. In other cases, where his friends whom he had appointed to office were guilty of dishonest practices, he showed a desire to shield them. In the summer of 1869 President Grant, by proclamation, designated Tuesday, November 30, for the re-submission of the constitution which had been defeated by popular vote. At the same time there was to be a general election for state officers, members of the legislature and representatives in Congress. This precipitated the first political contest of the military rule. The re-submission of the rejected constitution of 1868 enabled the voters to cast their ballots for or against the proscriptive clauses and the clause forbidding the loaning of the credit of the state, and the vote for the constitution meant the rejection of those clauses.

Two factions of the Republican party contended for the control of the state. One under the name of the National Union Republican party, with a platform of "toleration, liberality and forbearance," had as its candidate for governor Judge Lewis Dent, a brother-in-law of President Grant. The platform was conservative and was made to appeal

to the native white vote. The Radical Republicans nominated James L. Alcorn as their candidate for governor, and made a strong bid for the negro vote. The election resulted in the ratification of the constitution with the proscriptive clauses stricken out, and the state credit clause was adopted. In the contest for governor, Alcorn was elected by a large majority. Congress passed a bill readmitting the state to the Union Feb. 23, 1870, and on the 26th General Ames proclaimed the termination of his military command, and left the state to take a seat in the Senate, to which he had been elected by the legislature.

Reconstruction and Revolution, 1870-1876.

The state had been reconstructed according to the congressional plan, under the provisions of which its interests were placed in the keeping of white aliens and ignorant negroes. Its advocates professed to believe that under the new conditions the return of peace and plenty was assured. Governor Alcorn in his inaugural address condemned what he termed the evils of the patriarchal system, and spoke in congratulatory words of the blessings which were to come from the new order of things.

The first election held under congressional reconstruction clearly foretold the influence of the negro vote. In the legislature of 1870 there were thirty-five negroes, five in the senate and thirty in the house. One of them was elected a senator of the United States. A negro held the office of secretary of state, and almost every county having a black majority had negro officials. The leaders of the race very soon awoke to the fact that the Republican party depended upon the negro vote for success at the polls, and they were not slow in demanding a full share of the spoils.

The failure of the governor to control the legislature in the direction of economy was made apparent early in the session. Its leaders were carpet-baggers with no interests in the state, their names did not appear on the tax-books, and most of them were citizens and office-holders for revenue only. It was their purpose to create as many additional offices as possible and pile up taxes as high as the people would bear. The governor, on the other hand, had been a citizen of the state for twenty-five years and was a large property-holder and taxpayer. He knew how poor the people were, and he went into office with the expressed intention of administering the government on a basis of rigid economy. While he was very unpopular with the white people, they preferred him to a carpet-bagger.

Before the meeting of the legislature, it leaked out that the party in power had determined to elect Governor Alcorn a United States senator for the full term beginning March 4, 1871. The election of Alcorn to the Senate required his resignation, and this would leave the government entirely under the control of the carpet-baggers and negroes. Such a prospect greatly alarmed the taxpayers of the state, and public meetings were held at which resolutions were passed requesting the governor not to resign his office, but his election early in the session of the legislature indicated his willingness to turn the state over to the tender mercies of his hungry followers. His acceptance at the hands of the legislature of the office of United States senator necessarily tied his hands and prevented the exercise of his extensive powers for the protection of the taxpayers.

The legislature continued in session six months, and its expenses were three times as great as those of 1865. That the per diem plan of compensation had much influence in prolonging the session is un-

doubted. An expensive official organization was provided, new offices created and salaries increased. A new judicial system was organized which greatly increased the number of judges. In order to throw these appointments to the carpet-baggers, the first circuit judges were not required to be residents of the state. There was in all departments an elaboration of government which was entirely unnecessary, and which was more expensive than the state could bear. Appropriations were made with little or no knowledge of the revenues from which they were to be paid. The legislature made the offices, the governor filled them with his appointees, the party leaders had to be provided for at the expense of the public, the appointed officials were generally incompetent and dishonest, hence financial ruin and bankruptcy were inevitable. The receipts in 1870 were $436,000, the disbursements $1,061,294. The cost of the legislative session of 1870 was more than half of the entire revenue. In 1871 the expense of the judiciary was $377,000. These figures show that Governor Alcorn's recommendations of conservative expenditures were not effective. He retired from office Nov. 30, 1871, to take his seat in the Senate.

Governor Alcorn was succeeded by Lieut.-Gov. R. C. Powers, and although the latter tried to arrest the prevailing corruption in the legislature and in the administration of county offices, conditions continued to grow worse. Expenditures were still in excess of the receipts. At the end of the first four years of reconstruction the expenditures had exceeded the receipts by $871,987, and the state indebtedness had increased from $1,178,175, in 1870, to $3,443,189 in 1874. During the Powers administration the people were in great distress on account of general corruption in the government, short

crops and the financial stringency brought on by the panic of 1873.

It was under these distressing conditions that the gubernatorial election came on. The contest was between two factions of the Republican party, both of which were bidding for the negro vote. One of the factions was led by Alcorn, the other by Ames, and both contested the nomination for governor. Alcorn had denounced Ames in the Senate as an interloper, and said that he was not a citizen of the state he represented, and did not even have the right to claim a technical residence there. In his heart Alcorn had all the contempt for the carpet-bagger which was felt by the native whites, and it found expression in his contest with Ames. At the Republican convention the support of the negroes went to Ames, and his friends controlled by a majority of about five to one. On the ticket with Ames were three negroes, two of whom were notorious rascals and criminals. The convention was a rabble of disorderly negroes, who demanded the offices for their race on the ground that they supplied the votes. The friends of Alcorn bolted and put out a full ticket in opposition to Ames. This split in the Republican ranks gave the Democrats and Whigs the balance of power, and an attempt was made to throw that vote to Alcorn. But by this time both Ames and Alcorn were regarded by the white people as enemies of good government, and the effort failed. Ames had the solid support of the negroes and was elected by a substantial majority.

The election of 1873 was the culmination of the evil effects of reconstruction. The rule of the alien and the negro was complete, with the latter holding the lion's share of the offices. The lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, superintendent of education and commissioner of immigration and agricul-

ture, all were negroes; both houses of the legislature had negro presiding officers; in the senate ten negroes held seats; of the seventy-seven Republicans in the house, fifty-five were negroes and fifteen were carpet-baggers; the majority of the county offices were filled by negroes, 90 per cent. of whom could neither read nor write. The governor had declared, on the floor of the senate and during his campaign for election, that he alone was the guardian of the negroes' rights, and after his election the negro leaders were apparently his chief advisers. Davis, the negro lieutenant-governor, and Cordoza, the negro superintendent of education, as the bosses of the negro machine, were very influential with the governor, and as both were notoriously corrupt, such counselors made the administration odious to the best elements of all parties.

At the beginning of 1874 the burden of taxation was so great that it threatened the confiscation of all property. The tax levy ranged from 2½ to 5 per cent. Over 6,000,000 acres of land, out of a total area of 30,000,000 acres in the entire state, were forfeited for taxes. In some counties the land tax amounted to $4.50 per acre. Such conditions led to the calling of taxpayers' conventions with members from all parties. The state grange resolved that "taxation in Mississippi has become a burden so large and extensive that the vital energies and industries of our state are becoming sapped, paralyzed and destroyed, and ruin inevitable and irretrievable stares us in the face." Memorials were sent to the legislature urging a reduction in the tax rate, and the governor attempted to bring it about.

The local elections of 1874 resulted in large gains for the Democrats and Whigs, who had combined for the purpose of rescuing the state from the spoiler. They gained control of an increased number of

counties with a corresponding increase in members of the legislature. Under these encouraging conditions the Democratic members of the legislature held a meeting March 3, 1875, and appointed a state committee to organize the Democratic-Conservative party for the campaign of that year. A convention representing the combined Democratic and Whig voters of the state was held August 3, and a general campaign inaugurated for the control of the legislature, with Gen. J. Z. George in active control of its management. The contest in reality was one in which the whites were practically all on one side and the blacks on the other. White Republicans, led by Governor Alcorn, were in open opposition to Ames on the ground that he had yielded everything to the worst element of the party. The campaign was one of intense feeling on the part of the white people; they believed that a supreme effort should be made to save their civilization from destruction.

After the meeting of the Democratic convention the white people devoted all their time to the organization of political marching clubs in every community. Both parties organized their clubs with military features. The legislature at its last session had appropriated $60,000 for the organization of two regiments of militia, a part of which could be used for the purchase of Gatling guns and small arms. As the campaign progressed, there were frequent collisions between the whites and blacks, and the governor called for Federal troops. When these were refused he began to organize two regiments of negro troops.

As the time for the election drew near, it became evident that the Republicans were losing ground. The anti-Ames wing of the party had gained the ear of the President; a number of influential negroes advised their people to vote the Democratic ticket

or remain away from the polls, and the leaders who were loyal lost hope. During the campaign there was intimidation on both sides. Many negroes were pledged to vote the Democratic ticket, and had to be protected from violence. Their preachers charged the members of the church to vote the Republican ticket, and those who refused were turned out. On the other hand, the whites terrorized the negroes with their military organizations, refused them employment unless they voted the Democratic ticket, and announced that it would be best for them to stay at home on election day.

The election was held Nov. 3, 1875, and was more orderly and free from disturbances than any since the war. The Democrats carried the state by over 30,000 majority, elected four congressmen, a state treasurer, a majority of both houses of the legislature and local officers in sixty-two of the seventy-four counties. The election marked the downfall of corrupt government, based on negro suffrage, in the state of Mississippi.

Restoration of Home Rule, 1876-1890.

The revolution at the ballot-box was soon followed by a session of the legislature, and a general investigation of all branches of the state government was immediately taken up. It was the avowed purpose of the Democrats, in the event of success, to investigate the official conduct of Ames, Davis and Cordoza, with a view to their impeachment and removal from office. It was known that Davis and Cordoza were guilty of almost every form of official corruption. Ames, on the other hand, had, in the opinion of the Democrats, been guilty only of illegal, arbitrary and tyrannical official acts, and was held to be culpable in condoning wholesale dishonesty in those over whom he held control and for whose offi-

cial honesty he was responsible. Davis was impeached and convicted; Cordoza was allowed to resign while the impeachment was pending, and Ames, after the articles of impeachment were dismissed, resigned. On March 29, 1875, the date of Governor Ames' resignation, John M. Stone, president *pro tempore* of the senate, was inaugurated governor of the state.

The legislature made a searching investigation of every department of the state government, which resulted in unveiling the extravagance, fraud and corruption that pervaded it in all directions. It was, perhaps, the ablest body of legislators that had ever assembled in Mississippi. The legislature remained in session three and a half months, and the laws enacted had in view a readjustment of the administrative and financial system which had been in operation under the Republican régime. These laws were wise and wholesome, and were based upon the theory that rigorous economy was necessary for the rehabilitation of the state. The economic condition of the people was as bad, if not worse, as at the close of the war. There had been very little recuperation in the ten years which had passed; the lands of the people, which were about the only sources of revenue left to them, had borne the burdens of taxation; millions of acres had been forfeited to the state, and the farms remaining in the hands of the owners were heavily encumbered with mortgages. It was therefore the wisest statesmanship to reduce the expenses of the state to a minimum, and this was the task which the legislature of 1876 accomplished.

The total expenditure of 1875, the last year of the Ames administration, was $1,430,000; in 1876, the first year in which the taxpayers were in control, the total expenditure was $547,000. At the beginning of

1876 state warrants were selling as low as eighty cents on the dollar; before the legislature adjourned in April they stood at ninety-five cents, and before the close of the year were at par. In addition to the policy of economy established by the legislature, there was a complete revolution in the methods of conducting the public business. Under the rule of the non-taxpayers, public office was regarded as an opportunity for securing the largest pay for the least service, and the holders of petty county offices secured large fortunes in a few years. Under the rule of the taxpayers honest methods and honest service marked the administration of public offices. The wise and economical conduct of public affairs by Governor Stone was rewarded in 1877 by his election to a full term of four years. In his message of January, 1878, he reported that the laws had been impartially enforced, and that all the blessings of good government had been secured to the people. The total receipts from all sources in 1877 were $865,000, disbursements $562,000. The last years of the Stone administration brought in a new prosperity; there was a "boom" in railroad building; the Agricultural and Mechanical College was founded, and the census of 1880 showed an increase of 40 per cent. in the population of the state. In his last message to the legislature Governor Stone urged the establishment of an institution for the higher education of young women.

After six years of honest, economical government the state showed many evidences of improvement; its public debt was small—and in this particular it had a decided advantage over the other Southern states, this favorable condition being secured by the constitution of 1869, which prohibited pledging the state's credit; confidence in its financial integrity had been restored by a prompt payment of all its

obligations, and there had been a steady improvement in the relations between the two races. After 1876 the negro took little or no part in politics, and the change was good for him, as it gave him more time to find out that industry and right dealing were better for him to strive for than political control. But even after the revolution of 1875 the negro was not without representation in the political life of the state; they served as members of the legislature as late as 1894, and held county offices up to 1890.

From 1880 to 1890 there was a complete readjustment of race relations from both political and industrial standpoints. The negroes devoted themselves more to their duties as farm laborers and mechanics, and less to the occupations of the politician. The white people, relieved of the burdens which had prevented advancement, had more time to give to the upbuilding of the state.

In 1882 there was a change of administration. Governor Stone was succeeded by Gen. Robert Lowry, who continued the general policies of his predecessor; during his administration the state made great advances along the lines of educational development, the establishment of manufacturing enterprises and the building of railroads.

The year 1886 was notable for the adoption of an effective public school law and the passage of a local option act which submitted the question of the sale of intoxicating liquors to the counties. In his message of 1888 Governor Lowry said that signs of individual and general prosperity were more manifest in Mississippi than at any time of the decade.

The Constitutional Convention of 1890.

The Mississippi constitution of 1868 had, ever since its adoption under the reconstruction régime, been regarded with distrust by the best citizens. It

had been amended four times, but the changes wrought in it had not satisfied the people. As early as 1879 an agitation was begun for a new constitution. The objections urged against the existing charter were its origin, its suffrage provisions, which had given the state over to negro control for seven years, its unequal provision for representation in the legislature, the appointment instead of election of judges by popular vote, too frequent elections, an objectionable system for the registration of voters, and need of greater powers for the control of corporations and for the limitation of legislative power. While all these objections were urged as reasons for a change, the most vital and popular demand came from the advocates of radical changes in the regulation of the suffrage. Although the negroes had largely given up the right to vote, they were still entitled to cast their ballots under the law. This was a constant menace to good government, and in some counties a small minority of greenbackers and independents had, by the aid of negro votes, gained control of local affairs. In 1881 these elements had united in the gubernatorial campaign and cast over 50,000 votes. Good government, under existing conditions, depended on a suppressed negro vote. This was gradually undermining the political morality of the people, and it was feared by some of the most thoughtful and far-seeing men that it would, if continued, be a source of endless trouble.

By 1886 the demand for a change in the organic law caused the legislature to adopt a resolution calling a constitutional convention, but it was vetoed by Governor Lowry. At the session of 1888 a resolution was adopted by which the calling of a convention was made an issue in the gubernatorial campaign of 1889. In that contest John M. Stone

favored a new constitution and was nominated by the Democratic convention for governor. In the campaign for the convention, Senator J. Z. George led those favoring it, and the success of the movement, as well as the good results afterwards obtained, were due to his wise and statesmanlike leadership. The opposing forces were directed by Senator E. C. Walthall, who based his opposition on the general ground that it was best to accept the situation with all its evils rather than take the risk of disrupting the political harmony of the white race, which might be endangered by the disfranchisement of large numbers of white voters. The popular vote at the November election was favorable to a convention, and the legislature, at the session of January, 1890, made provision for it; Governor Stone approved the act Feb. 5, 1890, and on March 11 issued a proclamation calling an election of delegates July 29, for a constitutional convention to be held Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1890.

According to the act of the legislature the convention met at the state house Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1890, and organized by the election of Judge S. S. Calhoon, of Hinds county, as its presiding officer. On taking the chair Judge Calhoon said that the colossal fact confronting the convention was "that there exists in this state two distinct and opposite types of mankind. We find ourselves together and we must live together, and the question is how shall it be arranged so that we may live harmoniously." He gave expression to the question which was uppermost in the minds of the delegates, for every thoughtful man in the convention knew the terrible results of placing political power in ignorant and incompetent hands. It was conceded that good government was impossible under universal suffrage where 60 per cent. of the electors were ignorant

and semi-barbarous. How to restrict the suffrage without coming in conflict with the provisions of the Federal constitution by the elimination of ignorant voters, was the great task of the delegates. There were two men in the convention who were its recognized leaders—James Z. George and Wiley P. Harris—both of whom were constitutional lawyers of great acumen and learning, and had been selected as the best authorities in the state on the questions which were pressing for solution. These two men largely dominated the thought and action of the convention.

The franchise regulations of the constitution were based upon the report of the judiciary committee drawn by Judge Harris. There had been many propositions referred to the suffrage committee, the most important of which are here given as indicating the range of sentiment. Judge S. S. Calhoon proposed as a limitation on the suffrage one year's residence and poll-tax payment for two years; Hon. R. B. Campbell, a property qualification; Judge J. B. Chrisman, a property qualification and the oath of the voter that "I have read and comprehended the article of the constitution of this state which prescribes the qualifications of voters," and am not debarred; Judge H. F. Simrall, a Republican member, residence in the state two years, in the county one year, payment of poll-tax on the day of payment preceding election, and the Australian ballot; Hon. R. H. Taylor would require the voter to "read this constitution in the English language and write his name"; Judge Samuel Powell would make the disqualifications "convictions of any felony, petit larceny or unlawful cohabitation or failure to pay taxes for last year"; Hon. R. G. Hudson proposed the admission of both men and women to suffrage under a property qualification and ability to read and write. The delegates from the black counties

generally favored an alternative educational or property qualification; the majority of the delegates from the white counties were unalterably opposed to a property qualification.

The question of the constitutional effect of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Federal constitution, and the act of Congress of Feb. 23, 1870, readmitting the state to representation, was submitted to the judiciary committee, and the committee submitted its report through Judge Wiley P. Harris, its chairman, on the tenth day. The report set out "that the Fourteenth amendment in terms recognizes the right of the state to determine who shall vote—by those clauses which reduce the representation, if any male citizen of the United States and of the state are excluded from the franchise as a class"; clauses which are interpreted by contemporary history as giving the state the right to elect between giving the negro full franchise or submitting to a reduction of representation in Congress. "The Fifteenth amendment has but one operation, and was engrafted in the constitution for the single purpose of laying an inhibition on the state of discriminating against the colored man because of race or previous condition of servitude. The state has just as large discretion in regulating the franchise as it had before its adoption, with the single limitation that the regulations which it prescribes shall apply alike to both races." In dealing with the act of Congress readmitting the state to representation, the committee reported that the act of Congress readmitting Mississippi into the Union, in 1870, limiting the right of the state to impose certain restrictions upon the right of franchise and otherwise prohibiting the state from changing the constitution of 1869, was of no effect, so far as it made the state unequal with other states in self-government.

There was a strong element in the convention which was opposed to any restriction of the suffrage which would disfranchise any considerable body of white men. It was estimated that an educational qualification would disfranchise 5,000 whites out of a voting population of 130,000, and a property qualification would disqualify a larger number. On the other hand, there was a very able element which contended that effective qualification should be thrown round the franchise, and that if white men were disfranchised, however deplorable it might be, it was their duty to submit for the public good. After long and patient discussion this idea prevailed, and the franchise clause adopted operated to disfranchise the illiterate of both races. In its final form it provides, after excepting idiots, insane persons and Indians not taxed, that an elector must reside in the state two years and in the election precinct one year. All taxes, including a poll-tax of $2, for the two years preceding the one in which the elector offers to vote, must have been paid on or before the first day of February of that year, and an elector must also have been registered at least four months prior to the election at which he offers to vote. In addition the voter must "be able to read any section of the constitution of the state, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." The franchise regulations were reënforced by the passage of an ordinance adopting the Australian system of ballot. The constitution, as a whole, was adopted Nov. 1, 1890, it being the seventy-second day of the session.

Mississippi was the first of the Southern states to solve the problem of disfranchising the ignorant voter by legal constitutional means, and the example it set was soon followed by other states of the South.

While the primary object of the constitutional convention of 1890 was the elimination of ignorance from the electorate, the constitution it adopted contained many other admirable provisions, and the charter, as a whole, will compare favorably with the greatest systems of organic law which have been promulgated by Americans. These features cannot be elaborated in one brief chapter, neither is there space for mention of the many notable men who were delegates to the convention.

Economic, Social and Educational Conditions, 1865-1908.

The economic condition of Mississippi at the close of the war was appalling. The struggle had resulted in the financial ruin of the people; every family was impoverished and starvation confronted all alike; the farms which had been the main sources of wealth in the past were barren wastes with fences gone, buildings destroyed and implements practically worthless; all forms of business were at a standstill; what little money the people had was wholly without purchasing power; all forms of transportation had failed; the negroes were idle and could not be induced to work; the productive energy of the white people had been reduced to such an extent that the remaining resources of the state could not be utilized, and all the usual factors in the production of wealth were unequal to the task of economic reorganization. In 1866 it was estimated that there were 10,000 dependent and indigent widows of Confederate soldiers in Mississippi; and estimating three children to each, it is a conservative estimate to place the number of dependents at 40,000. There were few families that were not mourning the loss of one member or more, and it was the frequent comment of newspaper corre-

spondents visiting the South, in 1866, that it seemed as if one-half of the men were gone.

The actual economic loss of the state of Mississippi from 1861 to 1865 is difficult to estimate; some items of loss can, however, be approximately determined. In 1860 the number of slaves in the state was 436,631, valued at $218,000,000; the realty was assessed at $157,836,737; in 1870 the assessment was $118,278,460. The *Hinds County Gazette* of Feb. 2, 1866, estimates the actual loss of Hinds county at $25,926,000 as follows:

22,352 slaves emancipated	$11,176,000
200 buildings burned	600,000
Growing crops destroyed	500,000
10,000 bales of cotton burned	3,000,000
Vehicles, furniture, etc., destroyed	200,000
Stocks, bonds, etc	250,000
Live Stock carried away	2,000,000
Depreciation in value of lands	10,000,000

It is safe to presume that this is a conservative estimate, as it does not include the loss arising from the destruction of railroads and rolling stock, public bridges, factories, grist and lumber mills, and other forms of wealth. It is impossible to estimate, with any claim to accuracy, the loss in the other sixty-one counties in the state.

But in spite of all these discouraging conditions the returning soldiers determined to repair the losses of the war, and plunged with energetic enthusiasm into the tasks which were before them. Men who had never before labored in the fields undertook the daily toil of the farm, and women accustomed only to direct the labor of others took up the menial drudgery of the household. On account of the unreliable character of the negro under new conditions, there was little or no advancement from 1865 to 1876. The freedmen paid more attention to politics, "protracted meetings" and secret societies

than to the cultivation of the fields; many of them believed that every adult member of the race would be presented with forty acres of land and a mule by the Federal government, and most of their time was occupied in "staking off" the richest acres in the localities in which they lived.

In the social life of the people there had been a complete revolution; the same love of hospitality remained, but the wealth which had made it possible was gone. The manner of living was completely changed; under the old conditions life on the plantation was pleasant, under the new the head of the family felt that it was dangerous for the unprotected members of his household to be left alone. Where the question of daily bread was the absorbing thought, there was little time for social pleasures. Every home had been bereaved through the death of father or son, and the hearts of the people were sad. So that the years immediately succeeding the war were devoted to the simple life in which the maidens helped their mothers with household duties and the young men toiled to build up the waste places. As time went on and as conditions improved, the old habits and customs of the people were renewed; the old books which remained in the family library were read and reread; the chess-board and card-table were brought forth again and the house party was revived. After the revolution of 1875, when the horror of negro rule had departed, the return to normal conditions was still more marked, every form of activity took on new life and the future was bright.

During the first decade after the war large sums of money were spent on negro education. There was a general sentiment among the white people in favor of the education of the dependent race; at a

meeting of the State Teachers' Association at Jackson, July 31, 1867, resolutions were passed favoring the establishment of public schools for the negroes. The Bishop of Mississippi, in a letter to the *Columbus Index* of Dec. 19, 1866, advised the planters to establish schools on the plantations for the instruction of negro children, and it was done in not a few instances.

Under congressional reconstruction an elaborate and expensive system of public schools was established; but the main object of its creators seemed to be to provide places for political hangers-on. In 1870 the members of the House committee on education was composed entirely of carpet-baggers and negroes. The entire educational system was under the control of the non-taxpayers, and its practical operation created wide opposition. In 1873 some important changes were made in the public school law, which improved the system and placed it more under local control. In 1886 there was a complete revolution in the public schools, followed by the most beneficial results; and since that time these schools have made steady and substantial progress throughout the state.

The reorganization of the institutions for higher education after the war was immediate and was brought about under the best conditions. Governor Sharkey had been a member of the board of trustees of the state university since its incorporation in 1844, and soon after assuming his gubernatorial duties took steps for the reopening of the institution for students. On July 1, 1865, he called a meeting of the governing body to be held at Oxford on July 31. At that meeting a faculty was selected; the university was opened the first Monday in October, and 193 students were in attendance during the session. During the administration of Governor Hum-

phreys the university was liberally supported by the state. Under military reconstruction the trustees of the university were not displaced, and General Ames was inclined to allow the institution to remain under control of the board without change in its membership. In 1870 the legislature passed an act which was intended to "radicalize" the institution; the majority of the old trustees were removed, and the new appointees were largely politicians of the new régime.

The legislature of 1873 established the Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College for the higher education of negroes, and appropriated $50,000 a year for ten years for its support, and the same amount was given for the support of the university. In 1878 the legislature passed an act for the establishment of the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the technical education of the youth of the state, and in 1884 the Industrial Institute and College was chartered for the education of white girls of Mississippi in the arts and sciences. This institution was the first state supported college for young women in the United States, and such a policy was in keeping with the precedent first set by the state in the charter of Elizabeth Female Academy in 1819.

The period from 1880 to 1908 has been a time of substantial advancement in the industrial and educational conditions of the state. The administrations of Governors A. J. McLaurin, A. H. Longino and J. K. Vardaman left the state in good economic condition. One of the evidences of improvement was the building of a new capitol, which was begun, completed and occupied during the Longino administration. The great growth of the lumber interests in the southern part of the state has caused the rapid development of that part of Mississippi, and its increase in wealth and population since 1890 has been marked.

The appropriation for common schools for the years 1908 and 1909 was $2,500,000; for higher education, $768,500.18. In 1907 the valuation of realty was $222,386,593.35; personality, $106,572,223; railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, express and sleeping-car companies, $45,629,244, making a total of $374,588,060.35; the amount invested in banks was $22,438,070.05.

State Politics and Party Leaders, 1865-1908.

Before the war political lines were closely drawn in Mississippi between the Democratic and Whig parties on all public questions with the exception of slavery, the two parties being practically together on that subject. On the policy of Southern independence there was a well-defined line of cleavage; the majority of the Democrats favored secession in 1861, the majority of the Whigs opposed it. During the four years of war the men of both parties went to the armies of the Confederacy in defense of its cause; political differences were in abeyance, and that condition of affairs continued after the return of peace.

When Judge Sharkey, as provisional governor, ordered an election for delegates to the convention of 1865, neither the Democratic nor the Whig party had an organization looking to its control. While the election resulted in the selection of a large majority of Whigs, their success can be attributed to the fact that there was a sentiment among the Democrats that the men who opposed secession would be most apt to secure the best terms from the Federal administration. This idea also prevailed in the selection of General Humphreys for governor at the election held under the Presidential plan of reconstruction.

The reconstruction act of 1867 marked the begin-

ning of the Republican party in Mississippi. In the Presidential elections of 1856 and 1860 not a vote had been cast for Fremont or Lincoln. Under the franchise clause of the constitution of 1868 the negroes were clothed with the suffrage. This caused the organization of the Republican party in Mississippi under the leadership of two small elements of white men, the majority of whom were from the North; these were supplemented by a small number of white citizens of Mississippi, some of whom had ability and character. A few Whigs under the guidance of James L. Alcorn joined the Republican party, but the great majority allied themselves with the Democrats. Alcorn was nominated for governor by the first Republican convention held in Mississippi, his selection being brought about by the radical negro element. The more conservative Republicans nominated Judge Louis Dent on a platform which might appeal to white Democrats. That movement failed and Alcorn was elected. The triumph of the negroes had a very depressing effect on the native whites, the prevailing sentiment being expressed by L. Q. C. Lamar, who said in an address "that nothing remained for the South but the moral and intellectual culture of her people."

In 1872 the Democrats of the first congressional district decided to reorganize the party, and a convention was held for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Congress. The nomination was given to Col. L. Q. C. Lamar; he made a brilliant canvass of the district and was elected, in November, by a majority of nearly 5,000 votes. This election made him the leader of his party in Mississippi, and caused its systematic reorganization throughout the state. In 1873 political conditions had reached an interesting situation. Alcorn and Ames, the two Republican United States senators, had quarreled,

and both were striving for control as candidates for the nomination of their party for governor. This factional fight seemed to afford an opportunity for the white people, who were now acting together regardless of party, to secure a measure of good government. Ames secured the support of the negroes and was nominated; the friends of Alcorn bolted the convention and placed him in the field as an opposition candidate, with the hope of securing the support of the whites. No nomination was made by the Democrats, but the party refused to support Alcorn and Ames was elected.

From 1873 to 1875 the Democrats were strengthened by the corrupt methods of the party in power, and its complete Africanization caused an overwhelming majority of the white people to unite in one party as the only means of defense. For two years prior to the political campaign of 1875 a thorough organization of Democratic voters was perfected in every county for the purpose of electing a majority of the members of the legislature; the campaign having that end in view was opened by a convention held in Jackson Aug. 3, 1875. This convention adopted a platform of principles, nominated a candidate for state treasurer and took the name of the Democratic-Conservative party; this was the reorganization of the Democratic party in Mississippi. The leaders of the movement were L. Q. C. Lamar, J. Z. George, E. C. Walthall, J. M. Stone, Ethelbert Barksdale and C. E. Hooker. General George was placed in active management of the campaign, and Colonel Lamar led the forces in the field. Great public meetings were held in every county and were marked by an intense enthusiasm, which indicated that the state was thoroughly aroused. The public feeling may be shown by the

following resolutions, which were adopted at a great gathering in Yazoo county:

"Resolved, That we are in favor of a vigorous and aggressive canvass in the contest now approaching in Mississippi, and we appeal to our fellow-citizens throughout the State to unite with us in our endeavors by legitimate means to regain control of our public affairs, and thus to secure to all classes, white and black, the blessings of a just and honest government.

"*Resolved*, That we favor low taxes and an immediate reduction of all public expenditures,

"*Resolved*, That honesty and capacity are the only proper tests of official fitness,

"*Resolved*, That all men are equal before the law, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, amongst which is not the right to hold office unless the aspirant possesses the integrity and other qualifications necessary to its execution."

The defeat of the Republicans in the election practically eliminated the party from state politics. In 1878 the Greenback party began to have some success in county elections through a union of a few white Republicans, disaffected Democrats and negroes. The party had an electoral ticket in the presidential campaign of 1880 and cast 5,797 votes for Weaver. In 1881 the opposition to the Democratic party nominated a full ticket for state officers and polled 52,009 votes. In 1892 the Populists in Mississippi cast 10,256 ballots for their candidate for President, and in 1895 the party increased its vote in the gubernatorial election to 17,466.

It was generally believed that the disfranchisement of the negroes through the constitution of 1890 would result in a political division of the whites, and there was a decided tendency in that direction, as is shown by the vote cast by the Populist party in 1892 and 1895, but that party disintegrated in 1896, and its members in Mississippi returned to the Democratic fold. The Republican party had been so thoroughly discredited in the state that it was impossible for it to gain recruits, and since 1876 it has retained only a nominal existence for the distribu-

tion of Federal patronage. In 1899 the Populists had a candidate in the field against the Democratic nominee for governor, but the ticket made little impression. In the gubernatorial campaigns of 1903 and 1907 there was no opposition to the Democratic party.

In the political life of the state since 1870 conditions of an extraordinary nature have called forward men of the best talent and character; and this was especially true of the leaders developed by the revolution of 1875. The one man who, possibly, stands apart as the head and front of that great movement was L. Q. C. Lamar. He had, by his great Sumner speech of 1874, attracted national attention as a gifted expounder of the best principles of a new Union. While believing that the Southern people had held the position which was historically correct in their interpretation of the national constitution, he was willing to abide by the settlement made by the gage of battle, and his statesmanship looked to the building of a firmly united nation. As long as he remained in public life he represented the best sentiment of the people of Mississippi. The political campaign of 1875 brought into public life two other leaders of influence and power—J. Z. George and E. C. Walthall. They were colleagues in the United States Senate for twelve years; George was regarded as the great constitutional lawyer of the Senate; Walthall as the ideal American senator. These three men—Lamar, Walthall and George—were the leaders held in highest esteem among the post-bellum statesmen of Mississippi. The man who has left the greatest and best impression in the field of state politics is J. M. Stone; so strongly intrenched was he in the public confidence that no other citizen has been honored with a like term of office as the state's chief executive. In the national House of

Representatives John Allen, Charles E. Hooker, O. R. Singleton and Ethelbert Barksdale had distinguished careers.

The senatorial seats of Walthall and George are now ably filled by H. D. Money and A. J. McLaurin. In the national House of Representatives John Sharp Williams has attained great distinction as the leader of the Democratic party, and has been elected as the successor to Senator Money.

In state politics the race question has appeared, and it was the successful issue in the campaign of 1903; J. K. Vardaman, the winning candidate, advocated depriving the negroes of the benefit of all school funds except those coming from taxes paid by the race. In the gubernatorial election of 1907 the race question was not an issue; E. F. Noel was elected governor.

In national elections there is only one party in Mississippi. The state has maintained its traditions, and since 1872 has cast its vote in the electoral college for the Democratic candidate.

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DUNBAR ROWLAND,

Director Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

THE HISTORY OF TENNESSEE.

Chapter I.

COLONIAL AND TERRITORIAL TENNESSEE.

Early Explorations of Tennessee.

BEFORE the trader, the hunter and the explorer invaded the territory now known as Tennessee, the land was held by several remarkable tribes of Indians. The Chickasaws were dominant in West Tennessee and the Cherokees in East Tennessee, while the middle division of the state was a part of the famous hunting grounds of the Iroquois. At one time, probably in the Seventeenth century, the Shawnees took up their abode in the hunting grounds and gave their name to Sewanee, the town, Sewanee the mountain, and to the beautiful river that now bears the name of Cumberland. They were expelled about the year 1714 by the allied Chickasaws, Cherokees and Iroquois. Tennessee was often visited by those wanderers of the forest, the Creeks, whose home, however, was further south. The Chickasaws were inclined to peace, though redoubtable in war. The Cherokees, who were warriors above all, were unrelenting in their hostility to the white men. The Creeks, being soldiers of fortune, gave the early settlers of East Tenneseee not a little trouble. Such were the inhabitants of Tennessee when the indomitable white man put in his appearance.

The first white man to set foot within the boundaries of Tennessee was Ferdinand De Soto who crossed the Mississippi near Chisca's village on the Chickasaw Bluffs, where Memphis is now situated, in the spring of 1541. Nothing came of this incident except to give Spain a phantom claim to the country, which was afterwards ratified by the Pope. In 1584 Queen Elizabeth with a royal flourish handed over to Sir Walter Raleigh a patent granting him all the land in America between the 33d and 40th parallels of north latitude. The name of Virginia was given to this empire and Tennessee was a part of it. The Spanish claim was allowed virtually to lapse, when the French took up the work of exploration in earnest in 1673. Marquette and Joliet were the first to explore the Mississippi valley and they made a note of the Chickasaw Bluffs. In 1682 La Salle voyaged down the Mississippi and claimed the country in the name of France, calling it Louisiana. He stopped and built a cabin and fort which he called Prudhomme, made a treaty with the Indians and established a trading post. It was here that the first house was built by the white men in Tennessee. Subsequently the French trader Charleville built a store at Salt Lick, where the city of Nashville now stands.

Early Settlements.

Tennessee was thus included in English Virginia and French Louisiana at the same time, with the shadowy Spanish claim hanging over. But while the French were making the approach from the west and expected to hold the land through a powerful chain of forts located at favorable points on the river, the English from the east were casting longing eyes upon a territory reputed to be of unrivalled charm and fertility and to be a paradise for the hunter. On the eastern side of the Alleghanies there

were hordes of adventurous spirits who were eager to penetrate the land beyond the mountains where the western waters flow. The first of these daring invaders was Andrew Lewis, who was dispatched by the Earl of Loudon, governor of Virginia province, in 1756 to build a fort on the Little Tennessee River. He established Fort Loudon accordingly on the south side of the stream, about thirty miles from the present city of Knoxville—the first structure built by the English on the soil of Tennessee. The venture was unfortunate, however, for the promise of becoming a permanent settlement was never realized. A clash with the Cherokees resulted in the massacre of the garrison and the destruction of the fort.

The apprehension was general among the Indians that the English settlers entertained the purpose of seizing their lands and driving them out, and this fear was encouraged by the French, whose object seemed to be trade rather than colonization. In order to allay the Indian unrest, King George issued a proclamation forbidding the acquisition of lands from the Indians or the establishment of settlements west of the sources of the streams which flow into the Atlantic. But the restless frontiersmen could not be restrained. They began to straggle across the mountains, to clear the wilderness, and build their cabins. This steady invasion aroused the resentment of the Indians, and in order to conciliate them, a conference was held and the boundary line between the lands of the contestants was fixed by treaty. The dauntless backwoodsman, however, cared little for imaginary lines, and it is noticeable that the boundary was continually moving west.

When Virginia was divided in 1663, Tennessee became a part of Carolina, and when Carolina was divided in 1693, Tennessee became a part of North Carolina, though the boundary lines were so inde-

terminate that some of the early settlers were uncertain as to the colony in which they were located. When the tide of English settlement became strong, Tennessee was a part of the colony of North Carolina.

To the English colonists on the Atlantic coast Tennessee had all the charm of mystery. The traders had been the first to penetrate it but they had done little in the way of exploration. The hunters who were attracted by the stories of abundant game to be found there, were the real forerunners of the permanent settlement. In 1748 a considerable band of hunters under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Walker, of Virginia, penetrated the heart of Middle Tennessee. He gave to a range of mountains the name of the Duke of Cumberland, and the mountain stream to which the Shawnees had given their own name, he called the Cumberland River. In 1760 Daniel Boone and a large party of hunters made their way into Tennessee, and an inscription on a venerable tree crediting him with having killed a bear there testifies to his visit. The hunters naturally carried back with them to Virginia and North Carolina wonderful stories of the beauty and richness of the land; and so the way was paved for the coming of the hardy pioneer whose purpose was to make for himself and his family a home in the wilderness.

The trader, the hunter, and the explorer having performed their task, the settler now took up the work. Tennessee had been in turn a part of three English colonies, yet it was a *terra incognita* to all of them. The settlement of the state was hardly due to any organized effort. The pioneer settlers were of Scotch-Irish descent, and they came in small parties as the impulse moved them. Their first settlement was made north of the Holston River in the northeastern part of the state. The Shelbys were the

leaders in this settlement. The most famous colony, however, was that of the Wautauga Association on the Wautauga River, which ran to the south of the Holston.

The most striking figure at Wautauga was James Robertson, who has been accorded the honor of being the Father of Tennessee. Robertson was born in Virginia, but his family moved to North Carolina while he was a youth. In 1770 he journeyed to the beautiful valley of the Wautauga, where he was entertained by a pioneer settler. He remained long enough to raise a crop of corn there and decided to return home and bring back his family. While crossing the mountains he lost his way and would no doubt have perished had not two hunters found and relieved him. He brought with him a considerable party from North Carolina, and thus the settlement became an assured fact.

Robertson was not a man of much education or wealth but he was a splendid type of the pioneer, hardy, brave and resourceful. Though virtually the founder of the Wautauga settlement his name is more closely identified with Middle Tennessee, and a county in that division of the state was named after him.

Wautauga had a unique and eventful history. The settlement throve apace, and in 1772, the families there were so numerous that a political organization was effected, the first within the confines of the present state. The settlement was considered by its inhabitants to be in the limits of Virginia, but a government survey showed that the Virginia line was the Holston River, and as land below that stream was forbidden territory, the agent for the Crown among the Cherokees ordered the Wautauga settlers to move off. They were living on Indian land outside the protection of any organized colony. Singu-

lar as it may seem, the Cherokees expressed the wish that they might be allowed to remain, provided they remained where they were, and made no further encroachments on the territory of the Indians.

Washington District; Revolutionary War.

This relieved the situation. Wautauga was thus an independent colony, owing allegiance to no government—a tiny, unorganized republic lost in the western wilderness. From this anomalous condition of affairs came the first written constitution in America; for the settlers being sensible men and realizing that they were beyond the jurisdiction of the white man's government and living on land at the sufferance of the Indians, organized a government of their own and dispatched James Robertson and John Bean to negotiate a lease of the land from the Indians. This little independent commonwealth existed until the breaking out of the Revolution in 1775, when it became voluntarily a part of the Washington District.

How this district originated is a matter of some interest. When the colony of North Carolina declared her independence of Great Britain, the settlements on the Wautauga and Nollichucky rivers united and constituted themselves the Washington District—the first division of the kind to be named after George Washington. At their own request they were included in North Carolina, in order that they might share in the expense of maintaining the Revolution and participating in the conflict of arms. Formal recognition of the admission of the district was made in 1776, and the county of Washington was established therefrom in 1777. It has been noted as a singular fact that no British invader ever set foot upon the soil of Tennessee. The British fought the early settlers through the Indians. During the

transition period between the application for admission and the establishment of Washington county, the Indians were incited by their British allies to wage war against the settlements in this county. The information of the approaching invasion was given by an Indian woman, Nancy Ward, the Pocahontas of the West. The pioneers took steps to repel the invasion by building forts at various points. The Indians in two parties of about 350 each marched against the forts at Heaton's Station and Wautauga. The garrison at the former place, 170 men in all, did not wait for the Indians under Dragging Canoe to come up, but marched out to meet them. The encounter ensued at a place called Island Flats, where the Indians were dispersed with a loss of forty killed, while the pioneers did not lose a man.

Fort Wautauga was garrisoned by forty men under the command of Captain James Robertson and John Sevier. The Indians, commanded by Old Abraham of Chilhowee, attacked the fort about sunrise, but were repulsed with considerable loss and forced to retreat. It was during this attack that Kate Sherrill—Bonny Kate—a handsome mountain girl, was pursued by the Indians up to the stockade where she was rescued by her future husband, the gallant John Sevier. These and other successes against the Indians resulted in a treaty of peace.

The county of Washington was now commensurate with the present state of Tennessee, and inducements were offered to settlers to take up their abode within its confines. James Robertson organized a body of pioneers and crossed the lonely hills of Tennessee, arriving at French Salt Lick, the site of the present city of Nashville, where he laid the foundations of a permanent settlement.

While the indomitable settlers were thus acting as the Rear Guard of the Revolution, they were also

pushing the work of civilization into the West. The task of developing the Cumberland colony went actively on. Robertson brought his family from Wautauga and that settlement acted as a sort of feeder for the Middle Tennessee colony. In order to make the journey between the two less toilsome, a fleet of boats was constructed under Captain John Donelson, who took a considerable party from Fort Patrick Henry on the Holston River to the French Salt Lick on the Cumberland. The expedition was consummated on April 24, 1779, and it brought a valuable addition of forces to the Cumberland settlement. Subsequently Donelson's fleet of thirty or more vessels was used by the colony in hostilities against the Indians and for other public services.

In 1780 the Cumberland settlers took steps to form a government by adopting a compact, which has been pronounced a model of its kind. These settlers were mostly of good Virginia stock, and they believed in law and order. In penetrating into the wilderness they were animated by an intense love of liberty and a desire to elude British oppression. They were for the most part men of some education. It has been said that in 1776 out of 200 of those who crossed the Alleghanies. only two were unable to write their names.

At first everything went well with the Cumberland settlers. They built cabins and cultivated the land, and entertained the hope that they had at last arrived at a place where the strong arm of British oppression could not reach them. But while they had escaped one danger, they soon found themselves in the meshes of another. They were surrounded by hostile Indians who ambushed them when they strayed away from their homes, and shot a good many of them while they were cultivating their crops. Agriculture became almost impossible under these

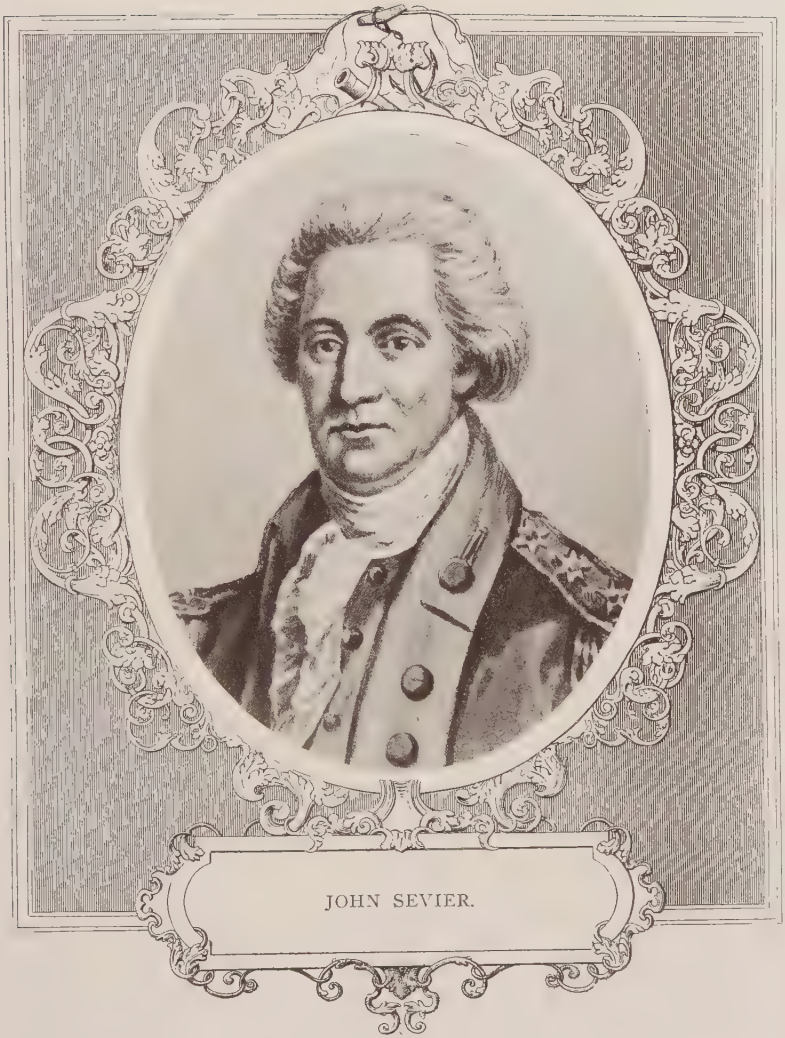
conditions. In ordinary engagements with the Indians the pioneers were consistently successful, but the savages were numerous and they were experts at Parthian warfare. Repulsed to-day, they were apt to return to-morrow. This constant warfare with the Indians began to tell on the nerves of the settlers. They were confronted with starvation and their ammunition had nearly given out. Some abandoned their new homes and returned to the old. In this emergency Robertson made a dangerous trip to the East and returned with a supply of ammunition just in time to prevent the despairing settlers from abandoning their homes for good. Though Robertson had made peace with the Chickasaws, the colony was continually beset by the Cherokees, the Creeks and other tribes. The hardy pioneer proved himself a valiant Indian fighter, but many of the leading men in the colony were killed, crops were destroyed, cattle and horses were captured and cabins were burned by the savages. General despair set in, and in 1782 a council was held to decide whether the colony should be abandoned. This would probably have been done, but for the resolution of Robertson. It was on this occasion that he proved his dauntless spirit more conclusively than in all his battles with the Indians and his hazardous expeditions across the mountains. His address to the council turned the tide. His rude eloquence put new spirit into the drooping hearts of the pioneers. The end of the Revolutionary War was in sight, he told them, the Indians would no longer be fortified by English support, and it would not be a great while before there would be large accessions to the colony from the ranks of the patriot armies. "Fight it out here," was Robertson's thrilling command, and the colonists responded to the call of the man who never went back. He had, indeed, foreseen the future. Peace between

Great Britain and the American colonies in 1782 brought some relief from the Indian attacks; and there was an influx of settlers who gave new strength to the colony. The savages, indeed, kept up a guerrilla warfare, but the men of the Cumberland were better prepared for them. Conditions marked a steady improvement. Life and property became measurably secure. The farmer could pursue his calling with but little fear of interruption. James Robertson's great work of forging a new state out of the wilderness—once the hunting grounds of the wild men of the forest—had been practically assured.

In the meantime there was another great government builder in the eastern part of the state, and as the early history of Middle Tennessee is virtually the history of James Robertson, so the colonial history of East Tennessee centres in the career of one of the most romantic figures that graced the annals of the state.

John Sevier was born of gentle parents in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Living on the frontier, he naturally had few educational advantages, but in this respect he did not differ materially from other young gentlemen of the time. He became in after life a master of apt and forceful English, but he was always a man of deeds rather than of words. He completed his education when he was not quite seventeen, married immediately and went into business. When he was only eighteen he conducted a successful fight against the Indians who had endeavored to loot his store. This was the beginning of the career of the greatest Indian fighter in America. In all he fought thirty-five Indian fights and never lost one of them. His undeviating success was due to the fact that he never waited for the savages to come after him; he went after them, and he struck as the hurricane strikes.

Such was the man who, in the Valley of the Wautauga, was destined to play so distinguished a part. Sevier was a man of some wealth at the time when he journeyed across the mountains and met Robertson, and decided to cast in his fortunes with those of the Wautauga colony. When Robertson migrated to the Cumberland, Sevier remained at Wautauga. By reason of this he took a considerable part in the Revolution. In 1780 misfortune had crowned the cause of the Revolutionists. Lincoln had surrendered to Sir Henry Clinton; Georgia was virtually in the hands of the British; Gates had been defeated by Cornwallis, and the relentless Tarleton had driven Sumpter before him in bitter defeat. Cornwallis had now determined to enter North Carolina and make his victory complete. Word was brought of his intentions to the men across the mountains and they resolved to checkmate his plans. He had sent the brave but illfated Major Ferguson to guard his army from attack on the west, and the mountaineers directed their attention towards the destruction of this body of men. Tennessee shares in the glory of King's Mountain, because of the 910 men who fought that fight, she contributed more than any other colony, and some of her ablest leaders like Sevier and Shelby participated in it with marked distinction. But for the mountain men of Tennessee it is doubtful whether the battle would have been won, and had it not been won, it is probable that the Revolution would have been lost. King's Mountain is considered by military experts the decisive battle of the Revolution, and it was largely to the splendid bravery of the early Tennesseeans of the Wautauga Association that the victory was due. This colony of valiant men from Virginia stock, but from soil included in North Carolina, did its full duty during the Revolution, not only keeping the British enemy out, but crossing the



JOHN SEVIER.

mountains and striking him in the rear to such purpose that his apparently decisive victories turned to naught. In the meantime the dauntless settlers both at Wautauga and on the Cumberland had to repel continuous assaults of the Indians who had been incited to this congenial work by the British foe.

Great was the rejoicing throughout the territory, now known as the state of Tennessee, when peace was finally declared, but the troubles of the settlers were by no means over. They were still subject to unexpected attacks from the Indians, but the white population was steadily increased by the coming of the Continental soldiers who were allowed a bounty of so much land in the territory. A concerted attack by the Indians about the time peace was declared aroused John Sevier; and, after he had repulsed it, he organized a force of men and carried the war into the enemy's country in so characteristic a manner that the Indian peril was now practically removed from East Tennessee. Moreover, the accessions to the population were rapidly making the whites strong enough to deter the Indians from any but sporadic and ill-considered attacks.

The State of Frankli[illegible]

After the Revolution many claims for military services and supplies were presented by the men west of the Alleghanies against the government of North Carolina. Irritation and friction were thus created between the main colony and her western territory. The alliance between the two had always been more or less unnatural, for the early settlers of Tennessee were Virginians who had built their homes by the western waters under the impression that they were on the soil of their native state. They had never received any protection from North Carolina and had been compelled to form their own gov-

ernment and protect themselves. They had even gone to the rescue of North Carolina in the pure spirit of patriotism and from an innate love of liberty.

North Carolina, however, was in financial straits, and in order to get rid of her obligations to her western citizens, she ceded Tennessee to the United States, provided the national government accepted it in two years. At a subsequent session of her legislature, sovereignty was asserted over the territory west of the Alleghanies until the cession thereof should be accepted. The land office, however, was closed and all entries of land made after May 25, 1784, were declared null and void.

Tennessee was now completely out in the cold. The territory had been ceded to the United States which had not accepted it. North Carolina still asserted sovereignty, but withdrew all protection, including even that to land titles. Naturally those independent and courageous mountaineers were indignant, and once again they held a convention and created for themselves a new government. At that time the territory, now known as the state of Tennessee, was composed of four counties—Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Davidson. The latter held aloof, but the other three elected delegates to a convention and adopted a constitution. The Rev. Samuel Houston was a member of the convention, and he submitted a draft of a constitution which made any person ineligible to office who could be proved guilty of immorality, profane swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and gaming, or who did not subscribe to the doctrine of the Trinity and the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. The reverend legislator's constitution did not fare well at the hands of those hard-headed, sensible men, who had seen enough of the union of church and state.

Instead a constitution similar to that of North Carolina was adopted, the new state was named after Benjamin Franklin, and John Sevier was chosen governor.

While these events were taking place North Carolina repealed the act of cession, formed the Washington District into a brigade and appointed Sevier brigadier general. He thought that it might be advisable to compromise, but finding that his people were opposed to anything of the kind he did not hesitate to go with them and accept the governorship.

It is uncertain whether the founders of the state of Franklin intended that it should become a part of the union, as one of the provisions of their constitution was that "the inhabitants within these limits agree with each other to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic or state, by the name of the Commonwealth of Franklin." Subsequently, however, they did apply for recognition as a state, but Congress gave no sign. North Carolina, too, treated the new state as a myth. She went on legislating and executing laws within the boundaries of Franklin, and she made new counties out of parts of Davidson and Sullivan. The anomolous condition of the new state was not calculated to give it either strength or stability. It had no standing. It was beyond the pale. Though its territory contained inconceivable and at that time unknown riches, it had no means of exploiting its resources, for it was to all intents and purposes an outlaw among the states.

Efforts at compromise were made, first on the part of Franklin and then on the part of North Carolina. Commissioners from the new state were accorded a hearing by the general assembly of the old state, but nothing was done. In the meantime the relations between the two commonwealths were be-

coming strained. Resolute warrior though he was when war was the order of the day, John Sevier was instinctively a man of peace, and he strove continually to prevent any resort to arms between the two states. He was a soldier because the exigencies of the time made war a necessity; but he was primarily a constructive statesman and born leader of men. Had anybody but Sevier been governor of Franklin, the chances are that there would have been a useless but bloody conflict between the two states.

Evidently North Carolina began to feel somewhat apprehensive, for the second overtures came from her. Governor Caswell requested Col. Evan Shelby to confer with Governor Sevier, and see if some basis of adjustment could be agreed on. The conference resulted happily in an agreement between the two governments to avoid conflict or friction until the next meeting of the general assembly of North Carolina. The public business was to be carried on by the authorities of the two states acting in conjunction.

But the state of Franklin was giving signs of premature decay. Sevier had mistrusted the venture from the first; but he served faithfully throughout his term of office, which expired in March, 1788. No election was held to choose his successor, and thus the state of Franklin, after three years of fitful life, passed out of existence. After Sevier's somewhat curious arrest at the instigation of Col. John Tipton and his prompt release and return to his home, he was elected to represent Greene county in the senate of North Carolina, his disabilities were removed and he was admitted as a member of that body. No ill-feeling seems to have been entertained towards him, and this is not astonishing, as he was a man of charming personality and his career as the greatest of all the Indian fighters must naturally have made

an appeal to the people of North Carolina. He was, indeed, soon reinstated as brigadier general of the Washington District and had the honor to be the first member of Congress elected from the territory west of the Alleghany mountains.

The Territory of Tennessee.

While the annals of East Tennessee were thus enlivened, those of Middle Tennessee were by no means dull. The commission of atrocities by the Indians had not ceased; and the Cumberland colony suffered not a little from the Spanish intrigues. It was necessary to organize several punitive expeditions against the savages, because of the indifference of the national government which, in 1790, had at last accepted the cession of Tennessee from North Carolina. There was no objection on the part of the Tennesseeans to the cession this time, as the United States had adopted a territorial policy that was now understood and that was generally acceptable.

Tennessee now became a part of the territory of the United States south of the River Ohio, and William Blount was appointed governor thereof. The present territory of the state was divided into two judicial districts, one embracing the four eastern counties and called the Washington District; the other embracing the three western counties of Davidson, Sumner and Tennessee, and called the Mero District, after the Spanish governor of Louisiana and West Florida, who happened at the time of naming the district to enjoy the favor of the Cumberland colony. President Washington appointed John Sevier brigadier general for the Washington District and James Robertson brigadier general of the Mero District. Governor Blount proved himself an able executive, and he seems to have done all he could to speed the aspirations of the territory to-

wards realizing statehood. A territorial legislature was established, and the people enjoyed a measure of popular government. But the territorial form of government was only transiently acceptable to the people of Tennessee. It allowed them little or no initiative, and so after six years of it, the southwest territory, as it was called, took steps to become a state. This was done with the approval of Governor Blount, who had a census taken, in accordance with an act of the legislature, showing the population of the territory to be 66,000 free inhabitants and 10,000 slaves. Thereupon the governor called a constitutional convention, of which he was made president. The constitution was modelled after that of North Carolina, and as there was a contract between that state and the United States that the territory should become a state when it had a population of 60,000, the people of Tennessee claimed admission to the Union not as a concession but as a matter of right. A government was therefore organized before Tennessee had been formally admitted to statehood, John Sevier was chosen governor of the new Commonwealth and Blount was made a United States Senator.

A State in the Union.

The Federalists in Congress opposed the admission of the new state on party grounds, and New England was almost solidly hostile. The reasons for this hostility need not be dwelt upon. The House of Representatives adopted the bill admitting the state by a good majority, but the Senate passed a different bill that placed obstacles in the way of attaining statehood. When, however, conference committees were appointed, the Senate receded from its position, and Tennessee became a state. It was from this act of volunteering into the Union that Tennessee derived the name of the Volunteer State.

At the time of admission in 1796 East and Middle Tennessee were in process of rapid settlement, and Knoxville and Nashville were growing towns. West Tennessee, though included in the boundaries of the state, was the property of the Chickasaw Indians. It was about a quarter of a century before this division of Tennessee was purchased from the Red men.

Very little is known about the schools of that time, but the settlers seemed to have numbered few illiterates among them. Of the 366 signers of the petition to annex Washington District to North Carolina and of the Cumberland Articles of Agreement only three had to make their marks. That there were some schools in the state is not only a matter of inference, but a matter of common knowledge. The Rev. Samuel Doak founded a school in Washington county in 1780, which was probably the first institution of learning established in the Mississippi Valley. The Rev. Thomas Craighead established a school near Nashville in 1785; and in 1794 the Rev. Samuel Carrick was made president of Blount College, just established by the territorial legislature—the first college, by the way, in the country to permit the coeducation of the sexes, and the first graduate of which was Barbara Blount, a daughter of Governor Blount. In process of time this institution became the University of Tennessee.

Such was the state that those two indomitable souls, John Sevier and James Robertson, gave to the Union.

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WALKER KENNEDY,
Editor Memphis Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn.

CHAPTER II.

TENNESSEE AS A STATE, 1796-1861.

Steps to Statehood.

When the legislature of the "Southwest Territory" met in 1794 it began preparations for admission to the Union. Resolutions were passed to the effect that the people be enumerated and their wishes concerning admission be ascertained. Nothing more was done at this regular meeting of the Assembly, because Governor Blount was in doubt as to the proper method of procedure. It was eventually decided that a constitutional convention should be called in case the population included the requisite number for admission. Consequently the governor convened the Assembly in extraordinary session in June, 1795. Immediately an act was passed authorizing the taking of the census, and directing the governor to call a constitutional convention if the inhabitants numbered 60,000.

Constitutional Convention of 1796.

The time in which the census was to be taken was from September 15 to November 15, and the compensation for the work was fixed at a *per capita* rate. It was found that the number of inhabitants included 65,676 whites, 973 free negroes and 10,613 slaves.

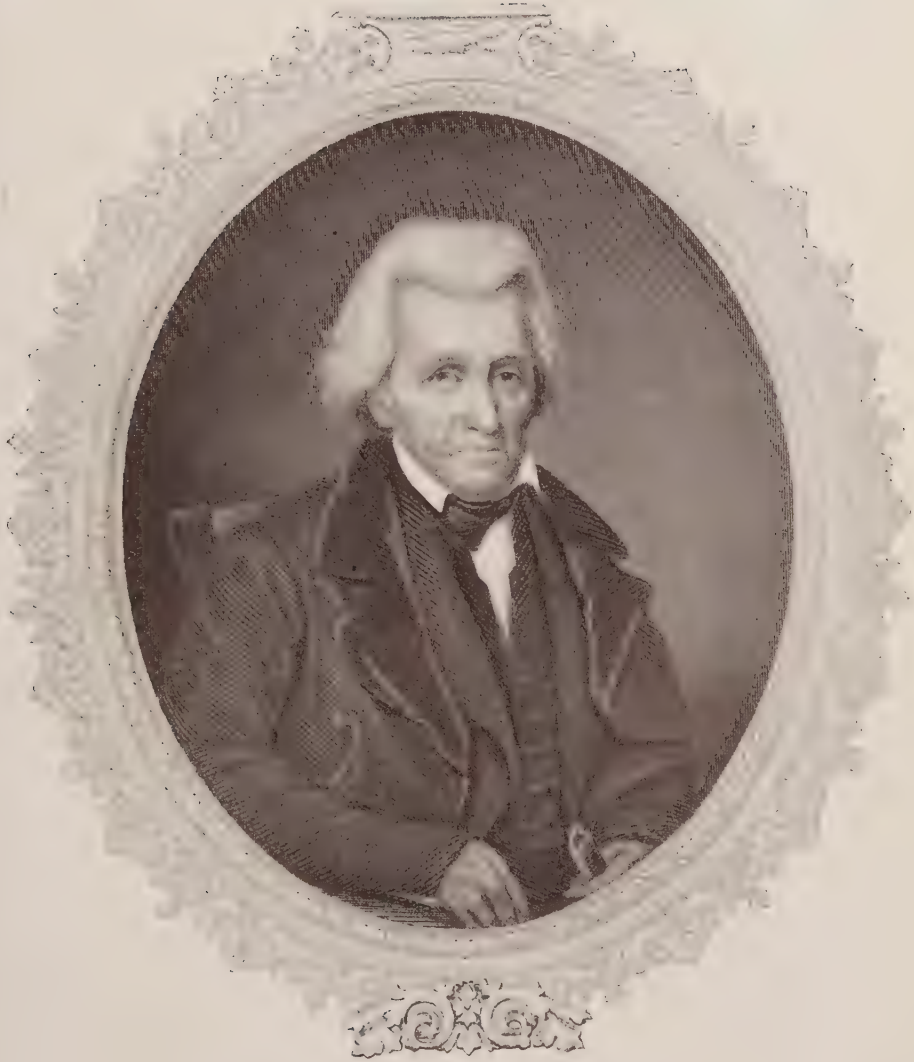
The population of Middle Tennessee was 11,924, and of East Tennessee was 65,338. The number of slaves in Middle Tennessee was much larger in percentage than in East Tennessee. The census having disclosed more than the requisite number of inhabitants, Governor Blount called a constitutional convention to meet on Jan. 11, 1796, at Knoxville. There were eleven counties in the territory and each county was represented in the convention by five members. Gov. William Blount was elected chairman, and the session lasted twenty-seven days. The constitution was drawn by a committee consisting of two members from each county. It was never submitted to a vote of the people. The first General Assembly met at Knoxville on March 28, 1796. John Sevier was elected governor and William Blount and William Cocke United States senators. President Washington sent a copy of the constitution to Congress on April 8. It soon appeared that there was considerable opposition to admission in Congress. This was doubtless due to party strife. The two great parties of the United States at that time were the Federalist and the Anti-Federalist. The people of Tennessee were largely Anti-Federalists. One of the leading arguments against admission was based on the difference of opinion regarding the propriety of organizing the state before application for admission had been made. The opposition was mainly in the Senate. The House of Representatives favored admission by a vote of forty-three to thirty. Finally, on May 31, the Senate accepted the House bill and on June 1 President Washington attached his signature and Tennessee became the sixteenth state of the Union.

John Sevier, First Governor of Tennessee.

John Sevier, the first governor of Tennessee, was of French extraction. He was born in Virginia and

came to Tennessee when he was about seventeen years of age. He was to the early settlements of East Tennessee what James Robertson was to the settlements in Middle Tennessee. His popularity was the kind that evinces the most excellent traits of character. His name was a terror to the savage and unfriendly Indians, and a pledge of safety to the community where he lived. He was a man of great personal magnetism and of kindly geniality, and he was remarkably well equipped for the work he performed. His commanding ability as a soldier and statesman makes him one of the most interesting characters in the history of the state. He served as governor for three terms in succession, twice in a period of fourteen years. He held many important positions of public trust and discharged his duties with distinguished credit to himself and his country.

The two United States senators who had been elected before the state was admitted to the Union were for that reason not permitted to take their seats. Therefore it was necessary for the governor to call an extra session of the General Assembly to reëlect senators Blount and Cocke and to provide for the election of one congressional representative from the state at large. Andrew Jackson became the candidate for this position and was elected without opposition. At the expiration of Senator Cocke's term Andrew Jackson was elected to succeed him in the United States Senate. The same General Assembly that elected Jackson to the Senate also elected Joseph Anderson to succeed Senator Blount, who had been expelled from the United States Senate on the charge that he had entered into a conspiracy to transfer Florida and Louisiana from Spain to England.



ANDREW JACKSON

The Constitution of 1796.

The constitution under which Tennessee became a state was not, to any great extent, unlike that of North Carolina framed in 1776. It was thus through North Carolina that English institutions were transmitted to Tennessee. Those institutions have been developed under three constitutions, each of which shows plainly the evolution of the principles of democratic government. Those three constitutions were adopted in 1796, 1834 and 1870, respectively.

A close analysis of the constitution of 1796 reveals the defects that were most likely to be inserted at that time. It was not to be expected that the pioneers should be thoroughly familiar with the principles of political science. However, there were several able men in the convention that framed the constitution. Among them was Andrew Jackson, who, according to tradition, suggested the name Tennessee. The defects did not become manifest for several years after the adoption of the constitution. This fact indicates that it was fairly well adapted to the existing conditions. It was much more democratic than the constitution of North Carolina, which served as a model. Land ownership was the leading requisite for membership in the legislature, which was a bicameral body. The governor was elected by the people to serve for two years, but he could not serve longer than six years in any period of eight years. The establishment of courts was left to legislative enactment, a provision that produced great confusion and dissatisfaction. The legislature elected judges of the superior and inferior courts and appointed justices of the peace, and these officials were to serve during good behavior. Coroners, sheriffs, trustees and constables were elected by the county court to serve for two years.

That part of the constitution providing for the uniform taxation of land has been severely criticized. Each unit of base, which was 100 acres, was to be taxed the same as every other unit, except in the case of town lots, which could not be taxed more than 200 acres of land. This provision operated very unjustly after towns grew up and the adjoining land increased in value more rapidly than other land. The problem of taxation has always been one of the most serious difficulties with which governments have had to contend, and Tennessee early recognized this fact. Mr. J. W. Caldwell, in his *Constitutional History of Tennessee,* says that "Tennessee was one of the first states to declare in favor of uniform taxation, but it was not until 1834 that the declaration was made effective."

The controversy concerning the disposal of the public lands was one of the first difficulties with which the new state had to deal. The original treaties with the Indians were not thoroughly specific and North Carolina was still perfecting titles to land in Tennessee. The United States government entered into the controversy by claiming its authority in the matter of disposing of unappropriated lands. This authority was conceded by Tennessee in 1806, when it was also agreed that Tennessee should satisfy the claims of North Carolina out of the lands ceded by the United States. It was further provided by the same compact that Tennessee should appropriate 100,000 acres of land for the use of two colleges, 100,000 acres for the use of academies, of which there was to be one in each county, and 640 acres to every six miles square of ceded territory for the use of schools. The land question in Tennessee, as elsewhere, was one of great confusion, and the appropriations for educational purposes did not yield satisfactory results.

The constitution provided for freedom of conscience in religious belief and for the freedom of the press, but ministers of the Gospel were excluded from membership in the legislature. Any person who denied the existence of God or did not accept the doctrine of future rewards and punishments could not hold any office in the civil department of the state.

Early Religious Bodies.

Religion was not the least of the subjects that engaged the thoughts of the early settlers. The Presbyterians were the first to establish themselves. Dissentions among them soon prepared the way for the Methodists and Baptists. By 1830 the various denominations in the state were Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Cumberland Presbyterians, Lutherans, Christians, Episcopalians and Catholics. The year 1800 witnessed a most remarkable outburst of religious enthusiasm in the Cumberland district. The great revival was inaugurated by James McGready, a Presbyterian minister who came from North Carolina and settled in Kentucky. One of the leading results of this revival was the organization of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It took its name from the Cumberland Presbytery and differed from the mother church in the belief concerning the doctrine of predestination and in the relinquishment of the educational qualifications of ministers. It is an interesting fact that this Cumberland branch of the Presbyterian denomination has again united with the mother church in the early years of the Twentieth century.

Governors Roane, Sevier and Blount.

When Governor Sevier's first administration reached the constitutional limit he was succeeded by Archibald Roane. It was during Roane's adminis-

tration that the rivalry between Sevier and Andrew Jackson for leadership in the state began. They were candidates for the position of major-general. The deciding vote was cast by Governor Roane in favor of Jackson. Jackson then lived in West Tennessee, or what afterwards became Middle Tennessee. It was not before 1809 that the population of that section was as large as the population of East Tennessee. At the expiration of Governor Roane's first and only term he was succeeded by Sevier, who again served through the constitutional limit. It was during the next administration, that of Willie Blount, of Middle Tennessee, that Andrew Jackson's political ascendancy began. Blount's election marks the transfer of power from East to Middle Tennessee. In fact this sectional rivalry dates from the time when the Cumberland settlers refused to join the state of Franklin, and again in 1795 voted against state organization. Subsequent events, as will be shown later, emphasized this division.

Tennessee in the War of 1812.

It was during Blount's administration that the War of 1812 began. Tennessee supported the war policy and 2,500 of her citizens immediately entered the service of the government under the command of General Jackson. This was the beginning of Jackson's prominence. He led his troops toward New Orleans, was stopped at Natchez, and after an exasperating delay received an order from the secretary of war to dismiss his troops. This he refused to do before he had marched his men home, a distance of 500 miles.

Meanwhile the Indians under the leadership of Tecumseh, the celebrated Shawnee chief, conceived a plan of organizing all the western tribes for the purpose of coöperation in an effort to recover the

lands which they formerly owned, and to stop what they considered the encroachments of the whites. Tecumseh visited the Southwest and induced William Weatherford, or Red Eagle, the Creek chief, to join him in this scheme. Weatherford's scheme was to unite with the British against the Americans. He commanded the Creeks at the massacre of Fort Mims in the Alabama country on Aug. 30, 1813, when 500 men, women and children were cruelly and pitilessly murdered. The news of this massacre did not reach Nashville before December 18, and preparations were made immediately to send troops against the Indians. General Jackson was in command. It was in this campaign that he displayed the genius of a great leader. The principal battle was fought on March 27, 1814, at Tohopeka, where the terrible slaughter of the Indians utterly broke their power. In this battle Ensign Sam Houston, afterwards governor of Tennessee and president of the Texas Republic, did valiant and heroic service. This campaign of the Southwest was conducted by Tennesseeans almost entirely unaided. For the successful prosecution of the campaign Governor Blount had raised $370,000 on his own responsibility. Jackson became the hero and the idol of the state. In May of the same year he was offered the position of brigadier-general in the regular army, and soon after that of major-general. He accepted the latter, succeeding Gen. William Henry Harrison.

While these events were taking place the British had devised plans to capture the Louisiana Territory. General Jackson was placed in command of the army in the Southwest. He marched into Florida in the fall of 1814 and captured Pensacola, where the British army had its headquarters. He then captured Mobile and moved on to New Orleans, where on Jan. 8, 1815, he won the celebrated victory over

the British under General Packenham. In the meantime peace had been made between Great Britain and the United States. The effect of the War of 1812 upon Tennessee was to emphasize its importance as a part of the Union. It became known as the "volunteer state" by reason of the ready response with which its citizens met the calls for soldiers in this war and in the Mexican War. The Hartford Convention, noted for its attitude toward secession in opposing the War of 1812, had finally destroyed the power of the Federalist party. With the ascendancy of what was then called the Democratic-Republican party Tennessee became more prominent as a state.

Settlement of West Tennessee; Financial Distress.

In 1815 Joseph McMinn was elected governor and was twice reëlected, serving until 1821. This was a period of great importance in the history of the state. West Tennessee was opened for settlement in 1819. This section included the territory between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers, and was purchased from the friendly tribe of Chickasaw Indians in 1818. The early settlers were comparatively free from conflicts with the Indians, and consequently the population increased so rapidly that by 1824 fifteen counties had been organized. The city of Memphis was founded in 1819. During this period David Crockett, the celebrated pioneer hunter and statesman, and the hero of the Alamo, settled in West Tennessee on the Obion River. The population of West Tennessee had grown to 99,000 by 1830. The rapid settlement and development of this section of the state has no parallel in the history of the Southwest. Most of the settlers came from East and Middle Tennessee, but many came also from the West. The story of the great migratory movement towards

the Mississippi Valley, of which the settlement of West Tennessee and of all Tennessee was a part, forms one of the most interesting series of chapters in American history.

While Governor McMinn was a man of undoubted honesty and integrity, yet he was lacking in ability to deal with the difficult financial problems which confronted not only Tennessee but also the entire country after the War of 1812. Many of the states were passing "endorsement" and "stay" laws, creating loan offices and banks, and unwisely interfering with the relations between debtor and creditor. Tennessee was not an exception, and its legislation was in keeping with that of the other states. These conditions were the results of the general financial distress. The history of banking in Tennessee from 1807 to 1865 furnishes many examples of a mistaken financial policy. It is a noteworthy fact that the Free Banking Act of 1852 in Tennessee approached the method on which the national banking system of the present time is founded. Indeed, in the entire period of ante-bellum days the principles of banking in Tennessee, as in other western states, were gradually evolved out of the intricate and perplexing financial confusion.

Governmental Reforms Under William Carroll.

The greatest reform governor and the greatest constructive statesman in Tennessee prior to the War of Secession was William Carroll. He is very appropriately called the reform governor. When he was elected governor Tennessee needed the services of such a man, one who was admirably qualified for the work that was imperatively demanded. The defects of the constitution of 1796 had become apparent in the course of time. The state had developed beyond the conditions of frontier civilization. A

change in the method of taxing land, and of electing judges of the courts, justices of the peace and other officers was needed. Carroll was a successful business man and he adopted business methods in his administration. He called for a thorough examination of the banks, the resumption of specie payment and the repeal of "stay" and "indorsement" laws, and succeeded in proving to the people the superiority of industry and frugality over legislative enactments as a means of improving their condition. He advocated wise reforms and with consummate tact and ability succeeded in getting his measures adopted. Consequently it is needless to say that Tennessee again entered upon an era of prosperity. Carroll was governor from 1821 to 1827, and again from 1829 to 1835. The break was caused by the constitutional limit of six years.

In the meantime, from 1827 to 1829, Sam Houston was governor. His administration was not characterized by any extraordinary event except his resignation from the governorship in 1829, when he abandoned his campaign against Carroll for governor and left the state. Unfortunate domestic infelicity was the cause of Governor Houston's resignation and voluntary exile. His subsequent career in Texas gave the great prominence that is attached to his name. He was a man of commanding appearance, richly endowed with qualities that invariably attract a large following.

The second administration of Carroll is also characterized by important reforms. Other governors prior to his time had advocated internal improvements, but Carroll succeeded in obtaining larger appropriations for this purpose than had hitherto been made. The common school system of the state was inaugurated in the early part of this administration, but at first the counties contributed very

little to the support of the schools. The office of superintendent of public instruction was created in 1835, at the expiration of eight years was abolished, and was again created in 1865. Although the privilege of local taxation was established in 1845 and provision was made whereby an amount was to be contributed by the state to each district equivalent to the amount raised by local taxation, yet the development of the school system was never satisfactory. There was not only a lack of funds, but there was also frequent waste of the funds that were contributed. Unfortunately the people relied upon private schools for the work of education, and the appellation of "poor schools" commonly given to public schools brought the public schools into disfavor.

Through Governor Carroll's urgent recommendations the criminal laws of the state were reformed and more humane methods of dealing with criminals were adopted; it was also through his influence that the state penitentiary and the hospital for the insane were built. It was during this administration that the state issued its first bonds in 1833, which were to be used for the payment of bank stock.

Tennessee's Part in National Affairs.

It has been said that Tennessee almost ruled the Union from 1830 to 1850. Perhaps it would be more nearly correct to say that from 1830 to 1850 Tennessee was one of the most prominent states in the Union. In 1824 Andrew Jackson was candidate for President of the United States, was defeated by John Quincy Adams, but was elected President in 1828 and his administration extended through two terms. It was during his administration that Tennessee became a leader among the states. Jackson had been a leading citizen of the state since the time prior to its admission to the Union. He was Ten-

nessee's first representative in Congress. It was round his commanding personality that the public men gathered. Unyielding and invincible in determination, he was a man of original genius who had made for himself his own position in the world. Brave and chivalrous, straightforward and honest, he inspired his numerous followers with a sincere admiration and an implicit faith. However the advent of the spoils system may be deplored, Jackson must always stand out as one of the greatest leaders of men, and as one of the greatest political figures in America in the first half of the Nineteenth century.

Prior to 1850 Tennessee was undoubtedly one of the most active states in the work of developing the democratic tendencies and in breaking away from the rigid conservatism of the older states. Jackson occupies a unique position in the history of the nation and also of the state, but even Jackson did not always dominate in Tennessee. The spirit of independence was one of the most striking features of Tennessee politics at the close of Jackson's administration. Tennessee's part in the national affairs is readily seen in an examination of a list of some prominent representatives during this period. Hugh Lawson White succeeded Jackson in the United States Senate and was candidate for President when Martin Van Buren was elected in 1836. Felix Grundy was attorney-general in President Van Buren's cabinet. John Catron was one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1837 to 1865. John Bell was speaker of the House of Representatives in 1834, secretary of war under President Harrison, leader of the Whig party in Tennessee and candidate for President in 1860. James K. Polk succeeded Bell as speaker of the House of Representatives and was President of the United States from 1845 to 1849. Andrew Johnson was first elected to Congress

in 1843, and served in that capacity during the ten succeeding years. Cave Johnson was postmaster-general under President Polk, during whose administration the general government undertook the issue of postage stamps. From 1830 to 1860 Tennessee furnished seven ministers to foreign countries, among whom were John H. Eaton, minister to Spain in 1831; William H. Polk, minister to Italy in 1841; Andrew J. Donelson, minister to Germany in 1848, and Neill S. Brown, minister to Russia in 1850. The formation of the national Whig party resulted from the contests between Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay. Tennessee has been called "the mother of Southwestern statesmen" because she furnished a large number of able men who assisted in the making of the southwestern states.

The Constitution of 1834.

As a result of Governor Carroll's earnest recommendations and of the urgent demand of the time, the second constitutional convention met at Nashville on May 19, 1834. It remained in session until the latter part of the following August and succeeded in framing a constitution that was admirably adapted to the times. The constitution of 1796 was the product of the general political conditions in the United States, while that of 1834 came from the necessities arising out of an organized state. The contest between aristocracy and democracy that characterized the political history of the United States in the first quarter of the Nineteenth century was settled, so far as Tennessee was concerned, when the constitution of 1834 was adopted. Contrary to the method followed in 1796, the constitution of 1834 was submitted to the people, and on March 5-6, 1835, it was ratified by a majority of 24,975 votes. Only free white men voted in this election. There were

about 1,000 free negroes in the state who were opposed to the new constitution, but they were excluded from participation in the election. While the free negro was disfranchised he was not subject to military duty in time of peace, nor to the payment of the free poll tax.

The convention of 1834 was composed of men whose training in public service was comparatively limited. However, the defects of the first constitution were avoided and the new constitution was more democratic. Taxation was more equitably arranged, the judiciary was made independent of the legislature, property qualification for membership in the legislature was removed, and provision was made for the election of judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace and other officers by a vote of the people. This constitution recognized the three grand divisions of the state by providing for the election of one supreme judge from each division. At first the supreme judges were elected by the legislature, but an amendment in 1853 provided for their election by the people.

The jurisprudence of Tennessee was developed under the constitution of 1834. The period from 1834 to 1861 was productive of able and learned jurists, and the judicial opinions were excellent contributions to law literature. The new conditions arising amidst the growth of industry and commerce were adequately and efficiently met by the new adjustments of the judiciary, and the commanding ability of the judges established those adjustments upon a solid and permanent basis.

Party Politics, 1834-39.

About the time when the new constitution went into effect the political divisions in the state began to be based upon questions of national politics. The

Democratic-Republican party prevailed absolutely in Tennessee in the period following the War of 1812. With Jackson as national leader this party became known as the Democratic party, and the party of Clay and Adams, the opponents of Jackson, was called the National Republican party. In the presidential campaign Tennessee refused to accept Jackson's choice of a candidate to succeed him, and favored Hugh Lawson White instead of Martin Van Buren for president. In the state election of 1835 those who favored White were called Whigs, and, although Van Buren was elected president, this party gained the ascendancy in the state. The gubernatorial contest between William Carroll and Newton Cannon was full of intense interest both from a national and a local standpoint. Carroll was an adherent of Jackson and hence of Van Buren, while Cannon was an adherent of White. Cannon was elected and served until 1839, when he was succeeded by James K. Polk.

The contest between White and Van Buren, or rather between White and Jackson in Tennessee, called into political activity more prominent men than any other contest in the history of the state. Among the opponents of Jackson was Col. David Crockett, who wrote a *Life of Martin Van Buren, Heir Apparent to the Government and the Appointed Successor of General Andrew Jackson.* The success of White's followers in the state established the supremacy of the Whigs in Tennessee, and their controlling influence in the state was felt in every national election from Jackson to Buchanan.

Internal Improvements.

Prior to the War of Secession one of the leading questions in Tennessee was that of internal improvements. The growth of commerce and the increase

of population called for increased facilities of transportation. As early as 1794 a lottery was authorized by the territorial legislature as a method of raising funds to build a wagon road. The state of New York called upon Tennessee in 1811 for assistance in an effort to secure the aid of the Federal government to internal improvements undertaken by that state. But Tennessee, like other strict construction states, could not consistently call upon the Federal government for aid to such work. However, governors Willie Blount, McMinn and Carroll strenuously advocated the development of a system of internal improvements by the state. The first systematic effort was made in 1830 at the suggestion of Governor Carroll. The plan provided for a board of internal improvements consisting of two commissioners from each grand division of the state, with the governor as ex-officio president. An appropriation of $150,000 was made, and in 1831 additional local boards were appointed. But the results of these efforts were not satisfactory.

The constitution of 1834 contained the statement that "A well regulated system of internal improvements * * * ought to be encouraged by the General Assembly." Consequently a new plan was brought forward in 1835-36. This was called the Pennsylvania plan, but perhaps it was better known as the partnership plan. It was devised for the purpose of encouraging the building of railroads and turnpikes. The state was to take one-third of the capital stock of railroad and turnpike corporations after two-thirds of such stock had been subscribed for by private individuals, and was to issue bonds for the payment of such stock. An act of 1837-38 authorized the state to take one-half of such stock, but the total amount of the state subscription was limited to $4,000,000.

Evidently, Tennessee had an experience similar to that of other states engaged in such enterprises at that time. At least Tennessee seemed to realize that the burdensome debts of other states which had resulted from internal improvement enterprises served as a warning. Consequently the increase of the state debt was checked in Tennessee in 1840 by the repeal of all the laws that had provided for state aid to internal improvement companies. The act of 1840 reveals the fact that fraud had been practised and that the state had borne more than its share of the expense incurred by the enterprises. As a result no further assistance was given until 1848, when the state was authorized to indorse the bonds of railroad companies and thereby assume a secondary liability. But this plan also failed to give satisfaction. In all of these acts no adequate provision was made for the protection of the state. In 1852, however, an act was passed which met the conditions more satisfactorily. Under this act railroad companies seeking state aid were first required to get enough *bona fide* subscriptions for stock to make the main line of the road ready for the iron rails. When this was done and thirty miles at each end of the road were completed, the company was to receive for each mile $8,000 of 6 per cent. state bonds to be used in purchasing rails and equipment. As each twenty miles were completed more bonds were issued. The state was protected by proper provision for first mortgage on the completed part of the road, and on the entire road when it was completed. Provision was also made whereby the road paid the interest on the bonds and also maintained a sinking fund to retire them. Under the act of 1852 and its amendments in 1854 the state issued, prior to the War of Secession, bonds to the amount of $13,739,000. The wise provisions of this act and of its amendments

would have resulted in the liquidation of the debt thereby incurred had the War of Secession been averted. These bonds, together with other liabilities, made the state debt $17,594,806 at the beginning of the war. The constitution of 1870 prohibited the use of the state's credit as an aid to internal improvements.

Notwithstanding the financial difficulties arising from the internal improvement projects, the state profited by the construction of turnpikes and railroads during this period. The highways of a state, like the fences on a farm, are a good indication of the enterprise of the citizens. The first corporation charter granted by Tennessee was for the Cumberland Turnpike Company in 1801. In the first half of the Nineteenth century numerous turnpike companies were incorporated, especially after macadam came into use. Even the public school and academy funds were invested in the stock of turnpike companies. The state also undertook the work of improving the facilities for navigation. Governor McMinn contemplated a scheme for building a canal to unite the Tennessee and Mobile rivers, and Governor Cannon advocated a similar scheme to unite the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers. Tennessee was among the first states to encourage railroad construction, and so great was the enthusiasm for railroads that canals and the improvement of rivers almost ceased to be considered. The first railroad charter was granted in 1831 to the Memphis Railroad Company, afterwards known as the Atlantic and Mississippi Railroad Company. The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad was the first operated in the state. The Hiwassee Railroad Company was granted a charter in 1836. This road became a part of the East Tennessee and Georgia road, which was completed in 1856. The East Tennessee and Virginia

road was combined with this to form what was known as the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia road now a part of the Southern Railroad system. The great commercial convention met at Memphis in 1845, with John C. Calhoun as chairman. It was a time when internal improvement was the chief topic for discussion. The Mississippi River was looked upon as a "great inland sea." As a result of the convention a scheme was proposed to connect the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean by means of a railroad. Consequently the construction of the Memphis and Charleston road was begun in 1851 and completed in 1857.

Party Politics, 1839-44.

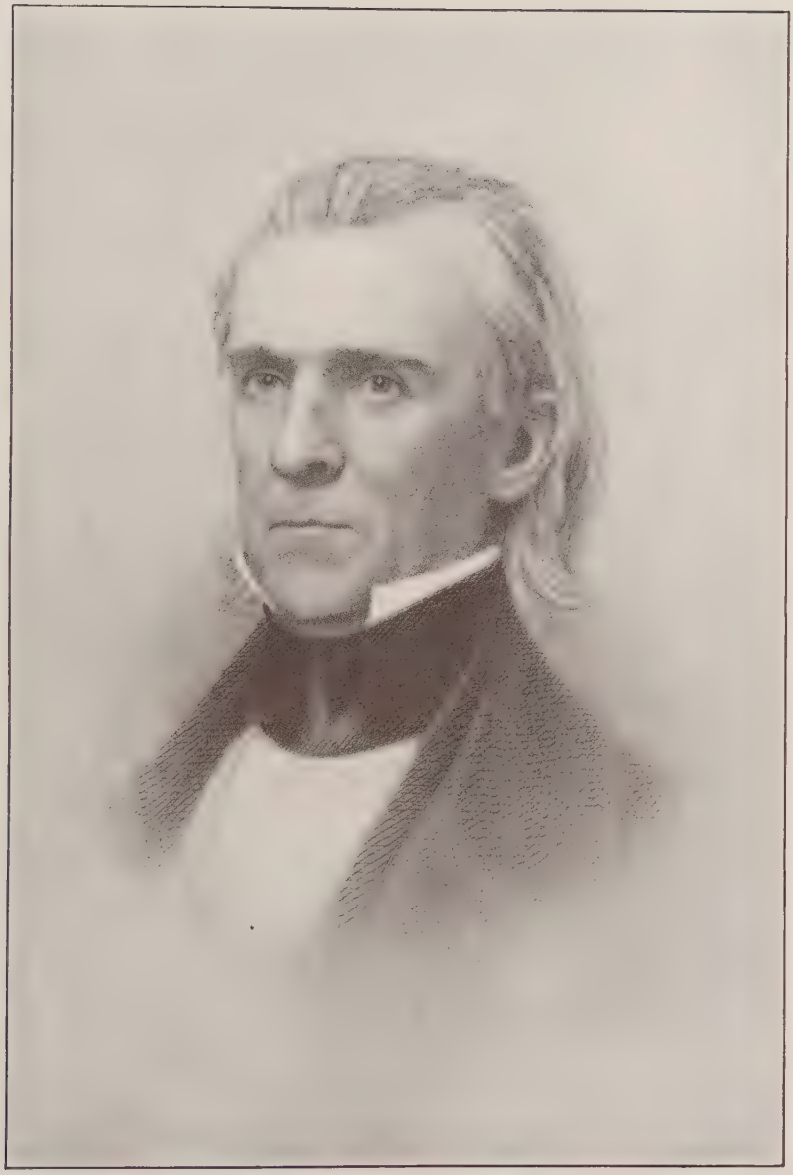
Contemporaneous with the movement for internal improvements, the political activity of the state, especially in relation to national affairs, became more intense. The first joint debate engaged in throughout the state by candidates for governor was conducted by James K. Polk and Newton Cannon in 1839. The discussion was directed mainly to national issues. Polk was a Democrat, Cannon a Whig. Of the two Polk was the more brilliant and forceful stump speaker. At the time of his nomination for governor he was speaker of the national House of Representatives. Polk was elected and served one term. It was a time of great political excitement throughout the entire country, and Tennessee gave little heed, in the campaign, to state affairs. Indeed, from this time until 1860 the state issues were superseded by national issues in the gubernatorial discussions. The parties were about evenly divided in the state and the contests for the governorship attracted attention throughout the country. The newspapers of the state began to participate in the political contests when William Carroll

first entered the race for governor, and by the time of the presidential election in 1840 they had become important political factors. The Whigs carried the state for Harrison and Tyler in 1840, and Governor Polk was succeeded by the Whig candidate, James C. Jones, in 1841. Polk was superior to Jones in serious debate, but Jones was a master in the art of story-telling and ridicule. Jones served two terms, and during the first of those terms the legislature was so evenly divided between the Whigs and Democrats that it failed to elect United States senators. About this time the state debt became a question of political importance. In 1843 Nashville was made the permanent capital. During Jones' administration the Tennessee School for the Blind and the Tennessee Deaf and Dumb School were established.

Tennessee's prominence in the national political contests was again emphasized by the election of President James K. Polk in 1844. The Whigs of the state being in the majority, Polk failed to carry Tennessee, the first and only time a successful candidate for President has failed to carry his own state. But Tennessee heartily favored Polk's Mexican War policy. Among the distinguished Tennesseeans who served in that war were William B. Bate, William B. Campbell, B. F. Cheatham, W. T. Haskell, Gideon J. Pillow and William Trousdale. Of these, Trousdale, Campbell and Bate afterwards became governors of the state. For services in the Mexican War the governor called for 2,800 volunteers, and 30,000 immediately offered their services.

Slavery and Secession.

The annexation of Texas was the leading issue in the presidential campaign in 1844. Associated with it was the great question of slavery. Henry Clay, the presidential candidate who carried Tennessee,



JAMES K. POLK.

favored annexation, but was of the opinion that the question of slavery should not be considered in that connection. The convention which framed the constitution of 1834 considered the question of emancipation, but finally came to the conclusion that it was inexpedient to interfere with the institution of slavery. In the first decade of the Nineteenth century emancipation societies were organized in Tennessee. In the latter part of the first quarter of that century two emancipation papers were published in East Tennessee: one was entitled *The Manumission Intelligence,* the other the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* The opposition to slavery even in the early years of the century was mainly in East Tennessee. But the question of slavery was not very prominent in Tennessee before 1850. In that year the "Southern convention" met at Nashville, having been called by A. J. Donelson, of Tennessee, to consider Clay's celebrated compromise of 1850. This convention was composed of leading men from Southern states, and contrary to the expectations of Donelson they expressed in unmistakable terms their opposition to the compromise measures and to congressional interference with the rights of slave-owners. The convention was composed mainly of Democrats, and in the next gubernatorial contest the Whigs of Tennessee succeeded in electing William B. Campbell governor. The convention was looked upon by the Whigs as a secession meeting, and secession and nullification had not been favored in Tennessee. The Whigs of the state, however, as also of the nation, gradually became divided on the question of slavery, and in 1853 Andrew Johnson, the Democratic candidate, was elected governor. Johnson served as governor through two terms, and was succeeded in 1857 by Isham G. Harris, a Democrat. Johnson was opposed to secession. Prior to

1860 Tennessee was loyal to the Union, but the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 made slavery the leading question of the nation, and the tendency in Tennessee was toward the defense of slavery. In 1856 Tennessee gave her vote in favor of a Democrat, James Buchanan, for President.

During Johnson's administration, to encourage the growth of agriculture and the mechanic arts, the legislature appropriated $30,000, in 1853, to establish agricultural and mechanical fairs. In the course of time this led to the establishment of the bureau of agriculture, statistics and mines. Prior to the War of Secession Tennessee was one of the leading states of the South in the growth of industry and commerce; in 1840 she was the foremost state in the Union in the production of Indian corn, and among the leading states in the production of tobacco and wheat. The coal and marble industries began to develop about 1840. In transportation facilities the state was not surpassed by any other Southern state at the outbreak of the war. In the making of the nation Tennessee occupied a prominent position, especially in the propagation of democratic tendencies brought about by the development of the states west of the Alleghany Mountains. Always conservative, she faced secession reluctantly, and hoped, even until the firing of the first gun of the war, that a reconciliation of the sections might be effected.

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JAMES DICKASON HOSKINS,
Professor of History and Economics, University of Tennessee.

Chapter III.

TENNESSEE AS A PART OF THE CONFEDERACY, 1861-1865.

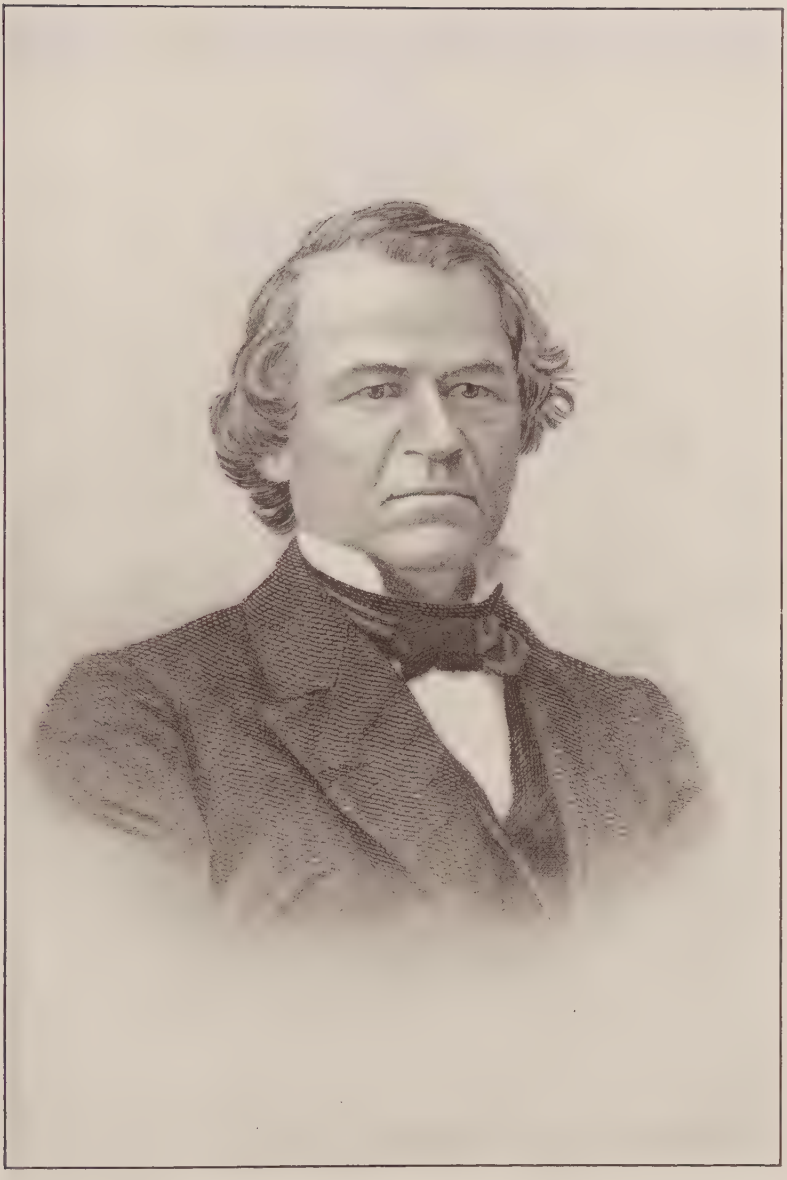
Tennessee's Attitude Toward Secession.

Prior to the War of Secession the attitude of Tennessee toward secession and nullification was one of opposition. The prominent position held by her in national affairs had been on the side of loyalty and devotion to the Union. The secession proposals of New England from 1812 to 1815 were regarded with disfavor in Tennessee. When South Carolina proposed the doctrine of nullification, and began to urge its adoption to such an extent as to make secession inevitable, Andrew Jackson, then President of the United States, emphatically and effectively expressed his opinion favoring the preservation of the Federal Union. It has been said that this unmistakable attitude of Jackson, the first President from Tennessee, "made possible the preservation of the Union in 1861-65." Granting this claim to be doubtful, the indisputable fact remains that Jackson's attitude toward disunion in 1830 may be taken as an illustration of Tennessee's attitude toward the same subject from that time until 1860. In the National convention held at Charleston, S. C., in 1860, the Democratic delegates from Tennessee by their rigid conservatism created a feeling of distrust toward themselves throughout the South. At another meeting of this convention, held at Baltimore in the same year, dissention again prevailed, and the Tennessee delegates were among those who withdrew and nominated John C. Breckenridge for President. The last Whig National convention assembled in Baltimore

on May 9, 1860, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President. The platform adopted by this convention was expressed in the words: "The Union, the constitution, and the enforcement of the laws." Bell's party became known as the "Constitutional Union Party." In the election that followed these conventions, Tennessee voted for Bell. Slavery caused the downfall of the Whigs in Tennessee, of whom Bell had been the leader. It was the question of slavery that brought the people of the state together, and prepared for the separation from the Union that took place under the coercive influence of the event at Fort Sumter.

At the outbreak of the war Isham G. Harris, a Democrat, was serving his second term as governor of the state. He was strongly in favor of secession, while his predecessor, Andrew Johnson, also a Democrat, was equally as strong in his convictions favoring the Union. Governor Harris was elected the second time in 1859. His opponent in the race for the governorship was John Netherland. Slavery was the leading issue of the campaign, and the Democrats took the position that each state had a right to regulate slavery within its own boundaries, since, according to their belief, it was a legal institution. Many of the Whigs entertained the same opinions regarding slavery, but they were more willing to support compromise measures. Netherland was the candidate of the coalition party of the Whigs and Know-Nothings. He was defeated by a large majority. He was a citizen of East Tennessee and Harris was a citizen of West Tennessee.

In the presidential election of 1860 Abraham Lincoln, the successful candidate, did not receive an electoral vote from the slave states. In this election the sectional line was so clearly drawn as to arouse the spirit of resentment among the Southern states.



ANDREW JOHNSON.

At the time of the election the legislature of Tennessee was in session and considerable apprehension prevailed among the people of the state concerning the outcome. Excitement throughout the South had become intense. Southern leaders were not at all reserved in expressing their opinion that the election of Lincoln was an indication that the Federal government would abolish slavery. But the attitude of Tennessee was characterized by the greatest caution. South Carolina passed her ordinance of secession on Dec. 20, 1860, and thereby precipitated the crisis. She was soon followed by Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. In the meantime appeals came from the seceding states for Tennessee to join them, but no response was given as Tennessee still hoped for reconciliation. Other states occupying the same position as Tennessee regarding secession were Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina and Virginia.

Pursuant to a call of Governor Harris, the legislature met in an extra session on Jan. 7, 1861, to consider the question that was forcing itself upon the state through the trend of affairs in the South. In his message the governor suggested the advisability of providing for an election in which the question should be submitted to a vote of the people as to whether or not a convention should be held for the purpose of considering the secession of the state from the Union. He further stated in the same message that eventually "in all human probability, the only practical question for the state to determine will be whether or not she will unite her fortunes with a Northern or Southern confederacy; upon which question when presented, I am certain there can be little or no division in sentiment, identified as we are in every respect with the South." An act was passed providing for an election to be held on

February 9, to determine the question of calling the convention as suggested by the governor. In this election the people declared their opposition to the convention by a majority of 11,877 votes. Those voting for it numbered 57,798, and those against it 69,675. The opposition was mainly in East Tennessee where the Union sentiment was strongest. Middle Tennessee gave a small majority against the convention and West Tennessee gave a large majority for it. At the same time when the election was held to determine the question of holding the convention the vote was also taken for delegates, and the secession delegates received 24,749 votes, while the Union delegates received 88,803. In the meantime, on Feb. 4, 1861, the seceded states organized the provisional government of the Confederate States at Montgomery, Ala. After the February election in Tennessee it was thought that the question of secession had been finally determined so far as the state was concerned. But a sudden change occurred when, on April 12, 1861, the attack was made on Fort Sumter. Three days later President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to defend the Union, and Governor Harris emphatically refused to comply with the request from the secretary of war for Tennessee's quota. The President's call for volunteers revealed his policy of coercion, and the spirit of resentment that suddenly manifested itself in those states that had been slow to secede amounted to a revolution of opinion. Thousands who had hitherto favored the preservation of the Union now felt themselves constrained to join the ranks of secessionists. In Tennessee the change was greatest in the middle and western divisions; the eastern division adhered firmly to the Union.

On April 18, 1861, several of the prominent leaders of the state issued an address in which they ex-

pressed their approval of the action of the governor in refusing to comply with the call for volunteers, their opinion that it was the duty of the state to take sides neither with the North nor the South, and also their opinion that the state should prepare "to maintain the sanctity of her soil from the hostile tread of any party." Among those who signed this address were John Bell, ex-Gov. Neill S. Brown and Cave Johnson, formerly postmaster-general under President Polk. Governor Harris again assembled the legislature in extra session on April 25, and in his message recommended an ordinance "formally declaring the independence of the State of Tennessee of the Federal Union, renouncing its authority and reassuming each and every function belonging to a separate sovereignty." He also recommended an ordinance providing for the admission of Tennessee as a member of the Southern Confederacy. On May 1 the legislature authorized the governor to enter into a military league with the Confederacy. The terms of agreement were submitted to the legislature on May 7, and were immediately ratified. The whole military force and military operations of the state were to be under the control and direction of the President of the Confederacy until Tennessee became a member of the Confederacy; and upon becoming a member of the Confederacy, Tennessee was to transfer to it all public property acquired from the United States precisely as other states of the Confederacy had done. It was also agreed that the Confederacy should repay all expenditures of money made by the state between the date of the agreement and the date of the admission to the Confederacy.

The Ordinance of Secession.

The Declaration of Independence and Ordinance of Secession was passed on May 6. It waived "any

expression of opinion as to the abstract doctrine of secession," and asserted the right of the people to change or abolish their form of government in accordance with their desires, and declared that all laws and ordinances which made the state a member of the Federal Union were "abrogated and annulled" and that Tennessee was henceforth "a free, sovereign and independent state." This ordinance was submitted to a vote of the people on June 8, and was ratified by a majority of 56,675. In East Tennessee the returns showed 14,780 for secession and 32,923 against it; in Middle Tennessee 58,265 voted for secession and 8,198 against it; in West Tennessee 29,127 voted for secession and 6,117 against it; in the military camps 2,731 voted for secession. On May 6 another act was passed authorizing the governor to raise, organize and equip a provisional army of 55,000 volunteers, 25,000 for active service and the remainder as a reserve. This army was for the defense of the state, and to defray the expenses of such defense the governor was authorized to issue bonds to the amount of $5,000,000.

The results of the election to determine the question of secession show that East Tennessee was the Union section of the state. The Union leaders in that section were Andrew Johnson, William G. Brownlow, Horace Maynard and T. A. R. Nelson. Johnson was United States senator from Tennessee when the state seceded, but he remained in the Senate. All of these and other prominent citizens of East Tennessee engaged in an active campaign to prevent secession. On May 30, 1861, a convention composed of 469 delegates, representing mainly the counties of East Tennessee, assembled in Knoxville to express disapproval of "the hasty and inconsiderate action of the General Assembly." After adopting strong Union resolutions, including an

appeal to the people to vote against secession in the coming election, the convention adjourned to meet again at Greeneville on June 17. The Greeneville convention adopted a "Declaration of Grievances" and prepared a memorial to the legislature which included a request that East Tennessee and such adjoining counties of Middle Tennessee as might desire be permitted to become a separate state. This request was not granted. A large number of the citizens of East Tennessee joined the Union army, and the contest that eventually arose for the control of this section of the state resulted in a reign of terror. On the contrary, a large majority of the Union leaders in Middle and West Tennessee yielded to the overwhelming influences of those sections favoring secession. Among them were John Bell, Neill S. Brown and Gustavus A. Henry. The citizens of those sections entered the Confederate army in vast numbers. The bitterness engendered by this division of the state became exceedingly intense and has operated against harmonious relationships even to the present time.

Tennessee a Member of the Confederacy.

A proclamation issued by the governor on June 24, 1861, formally severed Tennessee from the United States, and one issued by President Davis on July 22 announced that she was a member of the Confederacy. The permanent constitution of the Confederate States was adopted on August 1, and in the following October G. A. Henry and Landon C. Haynes were elected to represent the state in the Confederate Senate.

Thus Tennessee became a part of the Southern Confederacy, and during the war about 408 battles and skirmishes were fought within her boundaries, making her territory a veritable battleground. The

"provisional army" of the state, together with its equipments and stores, was transfered to the Confederacy on July 31, 1861, and made a part of Gen. Leonidas Polk's army. General Polk had his headquarters at Memphis. Before the end of the year the military organization of the state comprised about 108 regiments. The manufacture of ammunition and various army supplies was conducted in the state, and the cities of Nashville and Memphis soon became important supply centres for the South.

Tennessee's Participation in the War.

At the very outset Tennessee's position was rendered more important by the neutral policy adopted by the state of Kentucky. Had Kentucky seceded, the line of defense would have been along the Ohio River. As it was, a vigorous contest for the military possession of Kentucky became at once inevitable. The Federals gathered their forces along the Ohio River, one army under Gen. U. S. Grant taking its position at Cairo, the strategical point at the mouth of that river, and another at Louisville under Gen. D. C. Buell. Immediately after taking possession of Cairo, General Grant established fortifications at Paducah and Smithland, the one situated at the mouth of the Tennessee River, and the other at the mouth of the Cumberland River. Meanwhile the Confederates suffered no delay in fortifying the important positions along approaches to the South. General Polk advanced toward Cairo and blockaded the Mississippi River with strong fortifications at Columbus, about twenty miles below Cairo. The Mississippi was also guarded by fortifications at Island No. 10 and Fort Pillow. Fort Donelson guarded the Cumberland River while Fort Henry guarded the Tennessee.

Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston was placed in com-

mand of the western department of the Confederate army on Sept. 10, 1861, and under his direction the Confederates established their first line of defense along the Cumberland River, from Cumberland Gap on the east to Columbus on the west. As has already been indicated, General Polk was in command at the western end of this line; Gen. S. B. Buckner was in command at Bowling Green, the central fortification, and Gen. George B. Crittenden was in command at the east. Preparations were made by the Federal forces to break through this line. General Grant attacked the Confederates at Belmont, Mo., a small fortification opposite Columbus, on Nov. 7, 1861. After receiving reinforcements the Confederates succeeded in repelling the attack. The next effort was directed toward the right flank of the Confederate line. On Jan. 19, 1862, Gen. George H. Thomas, in command of the Federal army, attacked and defeated the Confederates under the command of Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer at Fishing Creek or Mill Springs, near Cumberland Gap. In this battle General Zollicoffer was killed and the Confederate forces withdrew beyond the Cumberland River, and Cumberland Gap was won by the Federals.

On Feb. 2, 1862, General Grant again left Cairo with a force of 17,000 men and a fleet of seven gunboats under the command of Commodore Foote, and advanced toward Fort Henry on the Tennessee River. This fort was defended by Gen. Lloyd Tilghman with a force of 2,610 men. As soon as he realized that he could not maintain his position, General Tilghman surrendered on the 6th after a severe battle lasting over two hours, by which the transfer of most of his troops to Fort Donelson had been secured.

Fort Donelson was the next objective point and

the place where the main struggle was to occur. Here one of the most important battles of the war was fought, Feb. 12-16, 1862. The capture of Forts Henry and Donelson meant the opening of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers and the final breaking of the first line of the Confederate defense. General Grant with a large body of troops, aided by a fleet of gunboats under Commodore Foote, began to surround Fort Donelson on the evening of the 12th. He was aided by Generals J. A. McClernand, C. F. Smith and Lew Wallace. The Confederates were under the command of Gen. John B. Floyd, who was aided by Generals Pillow and Buckner. The number of Federal troops is estimated at from 27,000 to 50,000, while the estimated number of Confederates varies from 12,000 to 20,000. The Fort was completely surrounded on the second day, but the resistance was at first so successful as to make Grant doubtful about the possibility of capturing the garrison at that time. A fatal mistake was made by the Confederates when they failed to take advantage of the opportunity for escape toward Nashville offered by the road cut through the ranks of the enemy on the 15th. This opportunity lost and all hope of saving the fort gone, Generals Floyd and Pillow gave the command of the troops to General Buckner and escaped. Col. N. B. Forrest, the celebrated cavalry leader, also escaped after having protested against the surrender of the garrison. General Buckner surrendered on the 16th. The Confederate loss, including prisoners, is estimated at 15,067, and the Federal loss in killed and wounded is estimated at 2,331.

Thus the Confederate line of defense was broken and the way toward the South was open. After the defeat of the Confederates at Mill Springs, Johnston had retired from Bowling Green to Nashville, and

now he evacuated Nashville, fell back to Murfreesboro, and eventually took up his position at Corinth, Miss. General Polk also evacuated Columbus, strengthened the defenses along the Mississippi and retired to Corinth. The Federals under General Buell took possession of Nashville and began to gather forces at Savannah on the Tennessee River near the southern boundary line of the state and not far distant from Corinth. They also occupied the position at Pittsburg Landing not far from Savannah, and Grant assumed command on March 17. These reverses lost to the Confederacy nearly all of Middle and West Tennessee and left the government of the state in the hands of the Federals.

Meanwhile the results of operations in East Tennessee served to intensify the bitterness of feeling between the factions. The Confederates had secured control of that section of the state early in the war. Generals Zollicoffer and Crittenden were at first in command of the Confederate troops. Early in 1862 Gen. E. Kirby Smith assumed command with headquarters at Knoxville. On Nov. 8, 1861, an attempt was made by the Federals to burn all the railroad bridges between Stevenson, Ala., and Bristol, Tenn. Five out of nine bridges were burned and communication with Virginia was thereby interrupted. Six of the men accused of the bridge-burning were captured and five of them were hanged. The sixth was pardoned by President Davis on December 26 in response to the following telegram from Elizabeth Self: "Honorable Jefferson Davis: My father, Harrison Self, is sentenced to hang at four o'clock this evening on a charge of bridge-burning. As he remains my earthly all, and all my hopes of happiness centre on him, I implore you to pardon him."

With the Confederate troops concentrated at Corinth, and the Federals at Pittsburg Landing, a

memorable contest would certainly occur before any considerable delay. The control of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad was of great importance to both sides. Grant evidently intended to attack the Confederates at Corinth. His immense army of about 40,000 troops was in six divisions and was soon to be reinforced by troops under General Buell. General Johnston, in command of the Confederate army, which was equally as large as Grant's, determined upon an early attack and consequently moved his forces toward Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh, where on Sunday morning, April 6, he opened fire. On the first day the Federals were repulsed, but the Confederates suffered an irreparable loss in the death of General Johnston, who was killed early in the afternoon. Gen. G. T. Beauregard assumed command, but the confusion that followed the fall of General Johnston proved fatal, and the next day, after having received large reinforcements, the Federals inflicted a crushing defeat and forced the Confederates to retreat to Corinth where they were reinforced. The Confederates lost about one-fourth of their army while the Federals lost 13,573. Anticipating an attack by an overwhelming force of Federals under General Halleck, General Beauregard evacuated Corinth on May 30.

After the evacuation of Columbus on the Mississippi, Island No. 10 became the important point of defense. It was attacked by Commodore Foote and General Pope on March 16, and surrendered on April 7 after a strenuous resistance lasting through three weeks. After the evacuation of Corinth, Fort Pillow was abandoned on June 1 and the city of Memphis fell into the hands of the Federals on June 9. Thus the entire line of the Confederate defense had been destroyed and the Mississippi was open to Vicksburg.

GUNBOATS IN ACTION AT MEMPHIS

Meanwhile, General Beauregard was succeeded by Gen. Braxton Bragg who, in command of the Army of Tennessee, proceeded toward Chattanooga. General Buell also advanced toward the same goal, intending to invade East Tennessee. Bragg succeeded in arriving at Chattanooga first and prepared to invade Kentucky. The cavalry raids of Morgan and Forrest prepared the way for this invasion. On August 16 Gen. E. Kirby Smith moved northward from Knoxville through Kentucky, captured Richmond, threatened Cincinnati and joined Bragg on October 4. Bragg was followed by Buell, who defeated him in battle at Perryville on October 8. He retreated south and concentrated his forces at Murfreesboro, Tenn., on December 2. The second contest for the control of Tennessee was soon to begin. On October 30 General Buell was superseded by Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, who gathered the Federal forces at Nashville, whence he advanced toward Murfreesboro on December 26. Here he attacked Bragg on the 31st, and the two large armies struggled in a fierce battle for three days, the fortunes shifting from one side to the other. Finally Bragg withdrew to Shelbyville, whence Rosecrans forced him to retreat towards Chattanooga in June, 1863. Meanwhile, brilliant but destructive cavalry raids were made through Middle and West Tennessee by Gen. N. B. Forrest. Thus, with the retreat of Bragg to Chattanooga, Middle Tennessee was left in possession of the Federals.

In July, 1863, the Confederate forces under General Bragg were concentrated at Chattanooga, but in September they were withdrawn and marched into Georgia to unite with the forces under General Longstreet. Upon the approach of Gen. A. E. Burnside to East Tennessee General Buckner had withdrawn from Knoxville to join Bragg near Chattanooga.

General Rosecrans continued his advance and took possession of Chattanooga on September 9. The two armies came together at Chickamauga on the 19th, and for two days engaged in one of the most desperate battles of the west. The Confederates succeeded in driving the enemy into Chattanooga and besieged them there. Each side suffered a loss of more than 15,000 men. After the battle of Chickamauga, General Longstreet was sent against the Federal forces at Knoxville under General Burnside. Meanwhile General Grant came to the rescue of the Federals at Chattanooga on October 24. In the battles of Lookout Mountain, Orchard Knob and Missionary Ridge, he repulsed the Confederates, forcing them to retreat toward the south. Upon hearing that Federal troops were advancing to the relief of Burnside at Knoxville, Longstreet attacked him on November 29 and was repulsed. The siege of Knoxville was raised on Dec. 4, 1863, but the Confederate troops were not withdrawn from East Tennessee until the spring of 1864.

During the Atlanta campaign Gen. John B. Hood succeeded Gen. Joseph E. Johnston in command of the Confederate army. After the fall of Atlanta General Hood moved toward Tennessee, crossing the Tennessee River on Nov. 21, 1864, and advancing toward Nashville. He encountered the enemy under General Schofield at Spring Hill and drove them in retreat to Franklin. On Nov. 30, 1864, he attacked the strong Federal entrenchments at Franklin and was repulsed in a terrific battle in which both armies suffered severe losses. Schofield hastened to Nashville to join General Thomas while Hood followed in pursuit and strongly fortified himself near the city. On December 15 General Thomas attacked the Confederate entrenchments and for two days the battle was waged with stubborn severity. On the first day

the Federals were repulsed, but on the second day the Confederates were utterly defeated and began their retreat south, finally withdrawing from Tennessee to northern Mississippi. This was the last important battle in Tennessee, and the state was secure in the possession of the Federal authorities.

Tennessee's record in the War of Secession fully sustains the reputation which she had acquired by her participations in previous wars. To both Southern and Northern armies she contributed a large number of officers and privates. More than 115,000 of her citizens served in the Confederate armies, and more than 38,000 served in the Union armies. Besides these, the number of colored troops that enlisted in the service of the Union from Tennessee is estimated at nearly 18,000. In the number of battles fought within her boundaries she was surpassed by no other state except Virginia, and some of her best troops served in the defense of the Confederacy in other states.

Civil Government.

The civil government of the state was centered at Nashville until the fall of Fort Donelson. At the state election held Aug. 1, 1861, Governor Harris was again reëlected. The legislature elected at the same time was largely favorable to the Confederacy. The state was also represented in the Provisional Confederate Congress, and after Nov. 6, 1861, in the Permanent Confederate Congress. The legislature convened in Nashville, and on December 21 adjourned to Jan. 20, 1862. On February 15, while the attack was being made on Fort Donelson, the legislature adjourned to meet at Memphis, where it convened again on February 20 and adjourned again on March 20, 1862, *sine die*. Governor Harris joined the Confederate army.

On Feb. 22, 1862, the civil government of the state

was suspended and martial law was established by General Grant. Andrew Johnson was appointed military governor by President Lincoln on March 3 of the same year, and assumed his duties at Nashville on the 12th. He adopted a policy by which he hoped to restore a state government in harmonious relations with the Union. He assumed an attitude of severity against all opposition to reconciliation with the National government. He established a provisional government, exacted of public officers, the Nashville city council, teachers, preachers and prominent citizens the oath of allegiance, and filled all vacancies with Union men. But he could do very little in the execution of his plans during the strenuous contest between the opposing armies in the state before the latter half of 1863. The Confederates of the state held a convention at Winchester in Middle Tennessee on June 17, 1863, and nominated Robert L. Caruthers for governor. At the same time candidates for the Confederate Congress were nominated. The entire ticket was elected and the congressmen took their seats at Richmond, but Caruthers was never inaugurated as governor.

Restoration to the Union.

The restoration of Tennessee to the Union was strongly urged by a delegation of citizens in consultation with President Lincoln after the repulse of the Confederate army in Middle Tennessee in 1863. Consequently, on September 19 of that year the President authorized Governor Johnson to use such powers as might "be necessary and proper to enable the loyal people of Tennessee to present such a republican form of state government" as would entitle the state to the guarantee and protection of the United States. On December 8 the President issued his celebrated Amnesty Proclamation, which

included an oath of allegiance and a plan of reconstruction. According to this plan the Confederate states were to establish a republican form of government by a vote of not less than one-tenth of the vote cast in each state in the presidential election of 1860. In compliance with a request from the Union citizens of the state, Governor Johnson issued a proclamation on Jan. 26, 1864, ordering an election of local officers on March 5 in those parts of the state under the control of Federal authorities. He also prescribed an oath for voters which was more exacting than that of the President, but it was not accepted as was shown by the fact that the election was a failure.

There were two factions among the Unionists of the state, and the dissentions which divided them increased with the efforts to restore the state to the Union. They were the Radicals and the Conservatives, and these names sufficiently indicate the meaning of the division. A meeting of prominent Union leaders was held at Nashville on Aug. 12, 1864, which resulted in the calling of a convention to be held in that city on September of that year, to consider the rehabilitation of civil government and to arrange for participation in the approaching presidential election. The convention met at the appointed time, but only a small number of counties sent delegates. However, a resolution was adopted by which all Union men favoring any measure for crushing the rebellion were admitted. Dissention prevailed, but the Radicals gained control and nominated electors on the Lincoln and Johnson ticket. Resolutions were adopted requesting the governor to require a strong oath like that prescribed in the preceding March election, and favoring an amendment of the state constitution abolishing slavery. An executive committee composed of five citizens

from each grand division of the state was appointed. In compliance with the request of the convention the governor issued a proclamation on September 15 for the enrollment of the state militia and ordering those who failed to serve without plausible excuse to be expelled from the state. On September 25 he ordered the presidential election to be held in November, and authorized all white citizens who had resided in the state for six months prior to the election and had been loyal to the Union to vote. He also demanded the oath prescribed by the convention. President Lincoln was requested to relinquish the rigid franchise qualifications, but he declined to do so stating that he would not interfere with any presidential election "except it be to give protection against violence." The McClellan and Pendleton electors withdrew and the Lincoln and Johnson ticket was elected, but the vote of Tennessee was rejected by Congress.

In November, 1864, a convention was called by the executive committee, appointed in September, to meet at Nashville on December 19 of that year to consider the methods by which Tennessee could be restored to the position which it formerly occupied in the Union. General Hood's invasion of the state, and the close proximity of his army to the city of Nashville, prevented the meeting in December. Pursuant to a second call by the committee, the convention met on Jan. 9, 1865, and, in comparison with the September convention of 1864, was likewise composed of a small number of regularly elected delegates. There was considerable discussion as to whether or not the convention should propose changes in the organic law of the state instead of providing for a regular constitutional convention. Following the advice of the governor, the delegates proceeded to propose amendments to the state con-

stitution abolishing slavery and forbidding legislative enactments "recognizing the right of property in man." Then follows a schedule of proposed alterations and changes providing for the repeal of the section of the constitution forbidding laws for the emancipation of slaves, and of the military league made with the Confederacy May 7, 1861; for the suspension of the statute of limitations and the annulment of all legislative enactments after May 6, 1861, and of all state bonds issued after the same date. It also declared the ordinance of secession and the military league acts of "treason and usurpation" and ratified the civil and military acts of Governor Johnson. These proposed amendments and changes were to be submitted to a vote of the people on Feb. 22, 1865, and if adopted an election was to be held on March 4 of the same year for governor and members of the legislature. A resolution was passed prescribing the "iron-clad" oath for all voters except those who had been "unconditional Union men." This oath contained the following statement: "I am an active friend of the government of the United States and the enemy of the so-called Confederate States; I ardently desire the suppression of the present rebellion against the government of the United States; I sincerely rejoice in the triumph of the armies and navies of the United States, and in the defeat and overthrow of the armies, navies and of all armed combinations in the so-called Confederate States."

At the election held on Feb. 22, 1865, the proposed changes were ratified, the vote being 25,293 for and 48 against them. Consequently Governor Johnson issued a proclamation on February 25 declaring the amendments to the constitution and the annexed schedule ratified and confirmed. He also ordered an election for governor and legislators on March 4.

In the same proclamation he stated that the people of Tennessee, "by their own solemn act at the ballot-box," had formally stricken the shackles "from the limbs of more than 275,000 slaves in the state." In the Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1, 1863, President Lincoln did not mention Tennessee either in the list of rebellious states or in the list of exceptions. (See EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, Vol. III.) It was through the influence of Governor Johnson that this omission was made and the abolition of slavery in Tennessee was left to the state. This was the only instance in which abolition was left to a seceded state.

The state election was held on March 4 and William G. Brownlow, the noted Whig and Union leader, was elected governor. He received 23,352 votes out of a total of 23,387. The vote for legislators was the same as that for governor. Thus, according to the two elections of February and March, 1865, Tennessee had complied with the requirements of President Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation. The legislature met at the appointed time, April 2, 1865, and inaugurated Governor Brownlow on the 5th of the same month. Governor Johnson had already been inaugurated as Vice-President of the United States on March 4. The legislature ratified the Thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States by a unanimous vote. President Lincoln was assassinated on April 14. This sad and most unfortunate event intensified the partisan feeling in Tennessee.

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JAMES DICKASON HOSKINS,

Professor of History and Economics, University of Tennessee.

Chapter IV.

TENNESSEE SINCE THE WAR, 1865-1909.

Introduction.

Tennessee occupies a unique position among her sister states. This uniqueness runs all through her history. She drew her life blood from two of the original colonies. Her earliest settlers founded independent governments in the wilderness, and on their own petition North Carolina assumed jurisdiction. Tennessee was the first state formed from Federal territory, and the only state whose citizens were ever reduced from citizens of a state to become citizens of a territory (1790).

Tennessee was unique in having a period of three months during which she performed all the functions of a state before receiving the consent of Congress to her admission.

A unique distinction was the fact that at Watauga the first government west of the Alleghany Mountains was formed on Tennessee soil. Unique again when during the war with Mexico 2,800 troops were called for and 30,000 responded: enough to fight the war alone, unaided by other states. Again, Tennessee was the last state to secede from the Union during the War of Secession; and she was the first to be readmitted to statehood. Not only the time of secession, but the character of the ordinance is different from the other seceding states, and declares for secession as a "revolutionary right," needing no other justification than the natural privilege of free men. Tennessee furnished more troops to the Southern and Northern armies, in proportion to her population, than any other state, the number being 115,-

000 to the Confederacy, and about 51,000 to the Federal side. Tennessee was the only Southern state that joined the Confederacy, besides Virginia, which had a large Union following; and yet, she was distinct from Virginia in having the Union men remain as citizens of the commonwealth, constituting almost one-third of the citizens of the state, and desperately striving to control the state government. Tennessee is again unique in that she was the only Southern state to manumit her slaves by direct vote of her citizens. She was the only state voluntarily to seek readmission to the Union before the close of the war. Unique again is the fact that her name was not mentioned in Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation. Tennessee was, too, the only Southern state that escaped Congressional "reconstruction." And her manner of being readmitted to the Union was different from that of any other Southern state.

While in these respects Tennessee history differs from that of other Southern states, she is like them in the sufferings endured and the loyalty displayed. And perhaps because of her very uniqueness in other respects, she suffered more, while her loyalty was no less genuine.

Reconstruction.

The period of reconstruction of Tennessee covers a longer period than in other Southern states. It goes back to 1862, when after the fall of Fort Donelson, the state came under Federal control. In March of that year the Federal army under Generals Smith and Buell entered Nashville, and the state government was withdrawn by Governor Harris to Memphis. On Nov. 3, 1862, President Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson military governor of the state, who proceeded as far as possible to restore order and to establish the authority of the government.

Late in 1864, some "loyal" men, with the approba-

tion of Andrew Johnson, called a convention to assemble in Nashville. Delegates under this call from a number of counties met in Nashville, Jan. 9, 1865. Who elected those delegates no authentic records disclose. As a matter of fact, they were for the most part self appointed. Of course, the "loyal leading men" getting up and issuing the call for the convention had no legal or constitutional warrant in the premises whatsoever.

This is admitted, and the only reasonable excuse offered is, that, as the result of the war, the state and its affairs were in chaos and the people without any civil government at all.

But this convention of its own will adopted what it called amendments to the constitution of 1834 and also a schedule of several sections deemed by it proper in the reorganization of the state government.

With reference to the question under review, it is not necessary to mention the amendments to the constitution, except to say that one abolished slavery, and respecting the schedule it promulgated it need only be said that its ninth section is pertinent. This section is as follows:

"The qualification of voters and the limitation of the elective franchise may be determined by the General Assembly, which shall first assemble under the amended constitution."

Andrew Johnson, then military governor of the state, by a proclamation issued Feb. 25, 1865, declared the amendments and the schedule promulgated by the aforesaid convention ratified by a vote of the people, and a permanent part of the organic law of the state. In the adoption of these amendments Tennessee by her own act abolished slavery from her borders.

Andrew Johnson, who had been military governor since 1862, having now been elected as Vice-Presi-

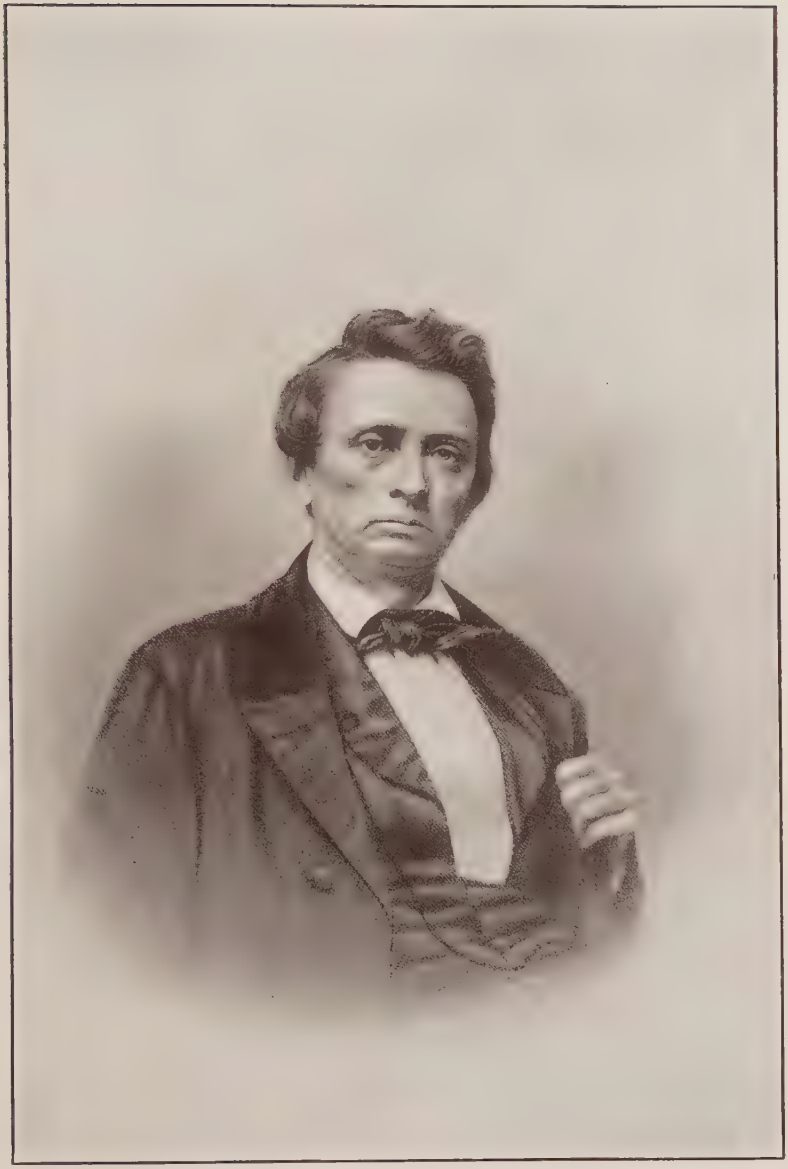
dent of the United States, an election for governor was called for March 4, 1865.

The Brownlow Administration, 1865-1869.

At this election W. G. Brownlow, of East Tennessee, became governor, and the state entered upon its Reconstruction period proper. And now began four years of misrule more trying upon the brave men and women of Tennessee than the four years of terrible war. It was a condition from which they sought deliverance for years in vain, but from which, after suffering untold ills, they were released by the ambition of one man: William Gannaway Brownlow, who, after serving four years as governor, aspired to a seat in the United States senate.

Brownlow was formerly a clergyman, and earned the sobriquet "Parson Brownlow." He was afterward editor of the *Knoxville Whig,* and was especially known for his bitter vituperation and vindictive spirit. On account of his unpopularity he was compelled to suspend his paper on Oct. 24, 1861. He was an advocate of slavery, but violently opposed to secession. His value to the Union lay only in his radical, vindictive partisanship; otherwise he was wholly unfit for high office, and conspicuously without ability.

The first object of the administration was to fulfil all the conditions deemed necessary to be readmitted to all the rights of statehood in the Union. These conditions had been partially met, under the suggestion of President Lincoln, by the calling of a convention in January, 1865, which submitted to the people the amendments to the state constitution abolishing slavery, as mentioned above. The legislature assembled in April, 1865, and promptly ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States constitution. All had now been done that the state gov-



W. G. BROWNLOW.

ernment could do, and the governor and members of the legislature awaited news from Washington, expecting that Tennessee would now be given her full rights as a reconstructed state. No doubt recognition would have soon followed, but the assassination of Lincoln now occurred, and Congress, having taken matters into its own hands, adopted a less liberal policy toward the seceded states. The delay of Tennessee's readmission was more than a year, during which time the memorable bitter contest took place between Congress and the President, over their relative powers.

The radicals in Tennessee looked upon the assassination of Lincoln as in reality a special providence to them, since by it there was elevated to the presidency of the United States a Tennessean who was in full sympathy with them in their efforts to obtain readmission. They were doomed, however, to be disappointed, as Johnson could do nothing. In fact, it proved a great disaster, as Johnson could not harmonize the warring factions in Congress as well as Lincoln. It was, however, the crowning glory of Johnson's ambition to sign on July 23, 1866, the bill readmitting Tennessee into the Union.

There are some points of difference worthy of note in the readmission of Tennessee, as compared with other Southern states. In September, 1865, General Rosseau, in command at Nashville, wrote to the Tennessee delegation of senators and representatives elect, who were waiting in Washington, requesting pointedly to know their attitude toward the administration if admitted. Their answer was published throughout all the Northern states, and was that they would support the policy of Johnson and of the Federal government. Many public men at this time expressed themselves as favoring seating Tennessee's representatives at the opening of the session.

However, when Congress convened in December, and Mr. Maynard, representative from the First District of Tennessee, undertook to take part in the preliminary proceedings, he was not recognized, and Tennessee had to wait yet longer.

The struggle which Tennessee had made for readmission into the Union had made her many friends, and it is probable that a majority of both houses were really in favor of such admission without delay. But following the established rule, the question was referred to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. This committee placed the matter in the hands of a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Grimes, Grider, and Bingham, who at once proceeded to collect evidence on the subject. The letter of Governor Brownlow to certain members of Congress stating that, "if the admission of congressmen would mean the withdrawal of the army from the state, he was opposed to it," made an unfavorable impression.

However, on March 5, 1866, a joint resolution introduced by Mr. Bingham on behalf of the committee, recommending readmission, passed second reading. The matter rested here, and Congress turned its attention to the Fourteenth Amendment, causing a delay of some months to Tennessee. On July 19, a telegram was received from Governor Brownlow, stating that the state had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. There was now nothing in the way of a final vote, and on July 20th, the resolution received a vote of 135 to 72 in the House, and on the next day the senate, by a vote of 28 to 4, amended the resolution, expressly stating, that Tennessee could only be restored to the Union "by the consent of the law making power of the United States." The house concurred, and Johnson signed the resolution on July 23,—not, however, without protesting against

the position of Congress that a "joint resolution was necessary to restore a state."

This readmission of Tennessee in the manner described was, in effect, the re-creating of a state, and not the restoration to original rights according to the Crittenden resolution passed by Congress in July, 1861.

Brownlow's Militia.

The legislatures which convened during Governor Brownlow's administration were composed in large part of inexperienced and radical members, ready without question to do the bidding of their more partisan leaders. Men formerly prominent in the state's affairs were now disfranchised. Unionism was the chief qualification for exercising the right of suffrage, and the result was that less than one-seventh of the voting population of the state was represented.* No effort was made by Governor Brownlow or the legislatures to deal with the returned Confederates, former masters of the state, otherwise than as a subject class. No kindness was shown. Distrust, prejudice, rancor and bitterness of feeling, were allowed full sway.

Some of the acts proposed by Brownlow's first legislature may serve to show their hostile attitude to the Confederates. The soldiers had returned from the army, poor, and in many instances having no other clothes than the uniforms they wore. It was proposed, and the bill passed the House by a vote of 58 to 5, to fine any one wearing the "rebel uniform." A bill was passed by the Senate depriving ministers, who sympathized with the South, of the right to celebrate the marriage ceremony, and requiring them to work the roads, and serve in the militia. Another bill provided that no woman could be licensed to marry, unless she had first taken the

*Fertig.

"oath of allegiance." These although receiving encouragement, fortunately failed to become laws; but the bills enacted into laws were sufficiently irritating to greatly intensify the bitter feeling in the state.

The legislature of 1866 had enacted a law empowering the sheriff of each county to organize a posse of twenty-five, or more if necessary, loyal men. The alleged excuse for this was the presence in certain parts of the state of guerilla bands; but the real object was to control the elective franchise by intimidation and force. The records of the time are full of accounts of outrages undoubtedly committed by this armed patrol. In 1867 was passed "Brownlow's Militia Law," which organized a state guard, composed largely of negroes and scalawags, whose plain purpose was to continue the permanent disfranchisement of the Confederates.

This band was subject to the orders of the governor to be used at his discretion. When an election was held, the State Guard would be stationed at "rebellious localities to enforce the franchise law." This law took away the right to vote from Confederates, natives of the state, and now ready to submit to the arbitrament of the war, and gave it to "loyal men" and carpet-baggers, who had resided within the state probably not over six months.

These acts and the organization of the Loyal League, a partisan union order among the negroes, and the consequent insolence of this class, lately slaves, now free, and drunk with the ideas of power and liberty pumped into them by irresponsible and designing white men, led to the organization, in self-protection, of the famous Ku Klux Klan.

Ku Klux Klan.

This Order originated at Pulaski, in Tennessee, in the summer of 1866. It was the outgrowth of a local

secret society; out of which the young men of the community, recently returned from the war, obtained much amusement on account of grotesque and mysterious initiation ceremonies. The effect upon the superstitious and ignorant negro race was quickly detected, and the wider purpose of the Order was at once developed. The Klan soon spread over the entire South.

The following are the names of the six originators. All are now dead except the two whose addresses are given: John C. Lester; James R. Crowe, Sheffield, Ala.; John Kennedy, Nashville, Tenn.; Calvin Jones; Richard R. Reed; Frank O. McCord.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the general effect throughout the South of this Order; our main purpose is with Tennessee and her peculiar history. Attention must be called, however, to the remarkable manner in which the hitherto intolerable conditions of the South were completely met, and overcome by this organization. And it is to be noted that it was done with the least violation of law, either of the Federal or state government. It was probably the most remarkable evidence on record of the resourcefulness of the Anglo-Saxon race, and its ability and determination to dominate. Driven to desperation by conditions that threatened to destroy their civilization, the citizens of the South, through this organization, turned upon their enemies, overwhelmed them, and became again masters of their own soil. It was a drastic measure, and its abuse can but be condemned. But its proper use must be commended by all good men everywhere, for by it was preserved the purest Anglo-Saxon civilization of this nation.

This Order had a prescript, or constitution, which was adopted at the convention secretly held at Nashville in the summer of 1867. A copy of this prescript

is in the possession of Hon. R. T. Quarles, archivist for the state of Tennessee, and it is through his courtesy that the photographic reproduction is here given.

This, and all other original copies, were printed at Pulaski on a hand press, and for that reason some imperfections are to be noticed. The title page is as follows: "Revised and Amended Prescript of the Order of the X X X. *Damnant quod non intelligunt.*"

The entire prescript has been reproduced from photographs of the original, and can be found in *The American Historical Magazine* (Vol. V., No. I., Nashville).

Attention is called to the Latin quotations, which in the original, are found at the top of every page. A few are here given: "*Magna est veritas, et prevalebit*"; "*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum*"; "*Fide non armis*"; "*Dat Deus his quoque finem*"; "*Deo adjuvante, non timendum.*"

The quotations throughout the entire prescript were well selected by classical scholars, and showed a deep appreciation of the situation confronting the South. Whatever may be said in condemnation of the outrages afterwards committed in the name of this Order, Tennessee is proud of the fact that the beginnings of this Invisible Empire were on her soil, and that the Grand Wizard who ruled over this Mighty Mystic Realm was, as is now well known, the intrepid Gen. N. B. Forrest, of Memphis.

Governor Brownlow was determined to break up this band, and for that purpose declared martial law in several counties, and sent companies of his "militia" to these points in the state to make arrests. Madison county, West Tennessee, was one of the first put under martial law, and, at one time, as many as 800 of "Brownlow's Militia" were stationed

APPELLATION.

THIS Organization shall be styled and denominated, the Order of the * * *.

CREED.

WE, the Order of the * * *, reverentially acknowledge the majesty and supremacy of the Divine Being, and recognize the goodness and providence of the same. And we recognize our relation to the United States Government, the supremacy of the Constitution, the Constitutional Laws thereof, and the Union of States thereunder.

CHARACTER AND OBJECTS OF THE ORDER.

THIS is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy, and Patriotism; embodying in its genius and its principles all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose; its peculiar objects being

First: To protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenceless, from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal; to relieve the injured and oppressed; to succor the suffering and unfortunate, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

Second: To protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and all laws passed in conformity thereto and to protect the States and the people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

Third: To aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land.

ARTICLE I.

TITLES.

SECTION 1. The officers of this Order shall consist of a Grand Wizard of the Empire, and his ten Genii; a Grand Dragon of the Realm,

TWO PAGES FROM THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF THE KUKLUX KLAN.

there. He employed secret agents and detectives to assist him. None were arrested, for they successfully disguised themselves and eluded detection. The testimony of General Gordon before the investigating committee brings out the fact that not one member of the Order was ever convicted in Tennessee.

Governor Brownlow, in July, 1868, convened the legislature in extra session, stating in the call: "Rebellious elements in the state are secretly assuming and perfecting a military organization known as the Ku Klux Klan, with an eye to overthrow the state government."

There is no telling how much longer these evils would have continued in Tennessee, had it not been for the ambition of Governor Brownlow to succeed Johnson in the Senate, and the legislature of 1869 very promptly elevated him to that lofty position. This change brought to the governor's chair the speaker of the Senate, Hon. D. W. C. Senter, a man with a more liberal policy than his predecessor toward the Confederates of the state. The Order now having accomplished its purpose, and an era of better times appearing, the Grand Wizard, in March, 1869, disbanded the Klan by official proclamation.

Struggle for Control of State.

It is interesting history to trace the legal struggle in which the citizens of Tennessee were engaged from 1865-1870 in their effort to regain control of the state government. This control was finally secured in peaceful manner, under the strictest observance of the forms of existing law and was brought about as follows:

The General Assembly which convened in 1865, soon after the adoption of the constitutional amendments, lost no time in passing laws limiting the elective franchise.

In May 3, 1866, this same General Assembly—and we may observe that it remained in session as long as it wanted to—amended the franchise law of 1865, and provided that every white male inhabitant of the state twenty-one years of age and upward, and a citizen of the United States, should be entitled to the privilege of the elective franchise, subject, however, to the following exceptions and disqualifications: (1) Parties who bore arms against the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion; (2) Those who voluntarily gave aid, comfort, countenance, counsel, or encouragement, to those hostile to the United States, or who sought or voluntarily accepted any offers, civil or military, or attempted to exercise the functions of any office, civil or military under the Confederate States, or of any insurrectionary state, hostile to the United States, with intent or desire to aid the rebellion or any insurrectionary authority, or who voluntarily supported any pretended government or authority hostile to the United States, "by contributions in money or property, by persuasions, or influence, or in any other way whatever."

This amending act provided that the governor should appoint a commissioner of the registration for each county in the state, whose duty it was to ascertain by proof and register the name of each and every qualified voter, and to issue to each a certificate that he was entitled to the privilege of the elective franchise.

The proof required to be presented to this commissioner of registration was the evidence of two competent witnesses known to the commissioner to have been at all times unconditional Union men, and who testified that they were personally acquainted with the person claiming to be registered, and that

he had not been guilty of any acts disqualifying him under the provisions of the act.

In addition the applicant for registration was required to take and subscribe to an oath, that he had never voluntarily borne arms with intent to aid the rebellion, nor with such intent at any time to give aid, comfort, counsel, or encouragement to the rebellion, and that he had never sought, nor accepted, nor exercised the functions of any office under the authority of the Confederate States, or of any insurrectionary state.

This commissioner of registration was authorized to hear proof against, as well as for, the applicant for registration.

The Act provided that no person should be entitled to vote at any election unless registered under the act, and who had received a certificate of registration.

The previous registration under the Act of 1865 was annulled, and this amendatory Act of 1866 was substituted.

Subsequently, the same General Assembly, on March 8, 1867, (see Acts of 1867, ch. 36) passed another act.

The fourth section of this act empowered the governor to set aside the registration of any county and make known the same by proclamation, when it should be made to appear to his satisfaction that fraud and irregularities had intervened in the registration of the voters of such county.

It is proper to observe here that the same legislature, on Feb. 25, 1867, also changed the law by striking out the word "white" so as to allow the colored brother to vote.

But nothwithstanding the long and strenuous efforts of this continuous General Assembly to perpetuate its power and to protect the state govern-

ment from invasion by those who in any way had sympathized with what it called the rebellion, quite a number of people received certificates of registration who had become disgusted with the debaucheries and excesses of the party in power.

Governor Brownlow set aside the registration in various counties, and under the act of Feb. 26, 1868, ch. 52, removed a number of commissioners of registration who had not acted in accordance with what he thought was necessary to preserve the state in the hands of the truly loyal.

It may be noticed that the legislature on May 8, 1867, passed an act which, by its third section, declared null and void the registration in Overton county, taken under the previous act.

All these acts made it a crime for any person to vote who was not entitled to do so under the provisions of the act.

One William Staten received, Dec. 10, 1867, from the commissioner of registration of Gibson county, a certificate as a qualified voter. On Feb. 23, 1868, Governor Brownlow issued a proclamation declaring the registration in this county void under the provisions of one of the acts before mentioned. On March 7, 1867, an election was held in Gibson county for sheriff, and Staten voted at said election under the authority of his certificate of registration issued to him Dec. 10, 1867. On March 26, 1868, Staten was indicted by the grand jury of the county for illegal voting. The indictment set forth the act aforesaid which he violated in voting. The lower court quashed the indictment, and the state appealed.

The case was heard by the supreme court for the western division at its April term, 1869, the supreme court being composed of Henry G. Smith, George Andrews, and James O. Shackelford.

These jurists held that, when a certificate entitling

a party to vote was issued under any of the acts aforesaid it was in the nature of a vested property right, and that it could not be taken away without due process of law, and hence, that the legislature had no right, without giving the party a hearing, to deprive him of his right to vote under his certificate, and hence, could not confer upon the governor the right to disfranchise him.

Senter, who as speaker of the Senate succeeded to the governorship on the election of Brownlow to the Senate, desired to be elected governor at the regular election. He was distrusted by the radicals, who nominated as their candidate William B. Stokes. The Democrats seized their opportunity, and promised Senter their support, if he would allow them to vote. The decision of the supreme court in the William Staten case referred to above was the turning point in the contest, especially affecting the result in Middle and West Tennessee. In addition to this, Senter instructed the commissioners of registration to issue certificates to Democrats, which was done very generously. Senter was elected by the largest majority ever given a candidate for governor.

The legislature was also overwhelmingly Democratic for the first time since the war. Ante-bellum leaders, with Gen. John C. Brown at the head, were once again in the saddle, and Tennessee began to emerge from the dark clouds of the reconstruction period.

And yet there was another serious fight before the conservatives gained safe control of the state. An effort was made by the radicals and defeated partisans of Brownlow to bring the state again under military rules,—to "un-state" Tennessee, to use a term then in vogue. This occurred in 1870 shortly after the election of Senter, and created much excitement throughout the state.

The legislature that met under Senter had lost no time in repealing all the obnoxious acts of the Brownlow administration, including the act creating the "State Guard," all laws granting aid to internal improvements, etc. We may observe here that the strenuous Brownlow legislature was in a long continuous session, and in addition to its efforts to disfranchise perpetually the intelligent citizens of the state, was also engaged in heroic efforts to increase the bonded indebtedness, and some $20,000,000 was added to the already impoverished state.

The effort of the radicals to reconstruct Tennessee was fostered and in every way encouraged by the holders of the bonds of the state-aided railroads, who saw the prospect of a repudiation of this debt by the Senter legislature. The cry was raised in Congress that Tennessee was about to repudiate the amendments to the state constitution voted upon under Johnson, and was again setting itself in "rebellion" against the government. Ample encouragement of this idea was received in Congress from such men as Thaddeus Stevens, Oliver P. Morton and Ben Wade.

A committee to investigate the situation was appointed, of which Gen. B. F. Butler was chairman. The Tennessee legislature sent to Washington to interview this committee, speaker D. B. Thomas of the Senate, and speaker W. O'N. Perkins, of the House.

In addition, a mass meeting of citizens of Nashville held on March 19, 1870, appointed a committee composed as follows: ex-Governor Neill S. Brown, Judge John M. Lea, Judge J. C. Guild, and Gen. G. P. Thruston, an ex-Federal officer who had settled in Nashville, and was now lending his valuable aid toward restoring order.

Testimony was given before the committee by

speakers Thomas and Perkins, and by Judge Lea and General Thruston. The efforts of these gentlemen were successful, and the threatened return to military rule was averted. However, no legislation was enacted by that legislature on the subject of the railroad debt, and for the time being agitation on that question ceased.

The Constitution of 1870.

The Democrats now in power were determined to get rid of all obnoxious legislation in the best way possible, and to do their utmost to prevent a return of such abuse of power as had been witnessed under Brownlow. There had been no revision of the state constitution since 1834, and it was thought that now was the time to call a convention for that purpose.

Accordingly, after having submitted the question to the people, this convention assembled in Nashville, Jan. 10, 1870. The importance of the task before them was realized, and the ablest men in the state were sent as delegates. Judge O. H. P. Nicholson, the "Nestor of the Convention," who afterwards became the chief justice of the state, was made chairman of the committee on elections and suffrage, the most delicate work before that body. Hon. John C. Brown, afterwards governor, was elected permanent president.

There was present one member of the constitutional convention of 1834 in the person of Mr. Bolling Gordon, of Hickman county, who was made temporary president. This convention altogether consisted of some of Tennessee's most distinguished men, and even now it is considered an especial honor to be referred to as having been "a member of the constitutional convention of 1870." Under the leadership of wise men, the work of the convention was quickly done, adjournment being reached on Feb-

ruary 23, one month and thirteen days after assembling. The chief action of the convention was the reenactment of the constitution of 1834 with the elimination of the word "white" and the addition of a poll-tax qualification.

By thus applying the elective franchise to "every male person of the age of twenty-one," (the constitution of 1834 provided that only "free white men" could vote), Tennessee embodied in its constitution the substance of the Fifteenth Amendment nearly two months before this was ratified and proclaimed by the government.

There was a fight over giving the suffrage to negroes by constitutional provision. Four members, on February 22, filed a protest, stating: "We hold that this convention has no right to force negro suffrage upon the people of Tennessee." A separate popular vote was urged on this provision. But arguments in favor of negro suffrage were forcefully presented by the wise leaders and the policy prevailed. Thus we have presented to us the sight of men of Southern blood, and only recently from the field of battle, calmly and resolutely facing the inevitable, and arguing that the right of suffrage be given by constitutional provision to former slaves.

In order to prevent the appointment of county offices of election by the governor, a power which had been so grossly abused by Brownlow, the convention provided (Act XI., Sec. 17), "No county office created by the legislature, shall be filled otherwise than by the people or the county court." The constitution was submitted to the people and ratified on March 26, 1870, by a vote of 98,128 for, to 33,872 against.

Tennessee has had three constitutions, the first one ratified in 1796, called by Thomas Jefferson the "most democratic constitution of any state"; the

second in 1834, and the third in 1870. The changes in the constitution of 1870 from that of 1834 are, however, so slight, outside of the right of suffrage, that the present constitution may be viewed more as an amended instrument of 1834 than as a new constitution of 1870. Undoubtedly the leaders of the state acted wisely at that time of unsettled conditions in tampering as little as possible with the state constitutional law; but it is a fact recognized for some years in the state that this constitution in some provisions is cumbersome under present, and decidedly altered conditions. Hon. Joshua W. Caldwell, who has written a most valuable book on the *Constitutional History of Tennessee,* presents very cogent reasons why a new constitution, or important amendments, are needed, and adds (p. 339), "but for the aid thus given by the Supreme Court, the state would be intolerably hampered by the present constitution."

Judge Nicholson himself said when the present constitution was ratified, that a new constitution would be needed within ten years.

The people of the state are very slow to take hold of this matter, however. In 1897 the time seemed to many to be ripe for a constitutional convention, but the proposition was overwhelmingly defeated. Again in 1904, amendments along certain lines were defeated. However, as Mr. Caldwell says (p. 353): "Conditions demand, and ere long will compel a revision."

The State Debt.

At the close of the days of reconstruction, Tennessee, like her sister states, was confronted with an enormous public debt which had been piled up during the chaotic period just following the war. In Tennessee the settlement of her debt was a question agitating her public men for fourteen years. Ten-

nessee's state debt in 1870 consisted of three distinct divisions: (1) the state debt proper; (2) the "state-aid" debt; (3) the Brownlow debt. These classes are explained in the following paragraphs.

Previous to the War of Secession, in her effort to extend aid to worthy improvements within her borders, Tennessee's outstanding bonds amounted to $16,643,000. A small proportion of these bonds ($3,844,000) constituted what became known as the "state debt proper," while the remaining bonds ($12,799,000) were issued under the policy mentioned above of extending state aid to internal improvements, mainly railroads, and for which liens were held on the roads. This indebtedness was increased by the Brownlow administration just after the war by an added debt of $20,363,406, making a total debt now on the state of $37,006,406. At one time the total debt, with accumulated interest, amounted to $42,000,000, and this at a time when the state was impoverished, and the roads on which she held liens for practically all the debt were destroyed. The state did enforce liens against twelve roads, to which bonds amounting to $20,502,000 had been issued. The roads sold for only $6,698,000 making a net loss of $13,804,000 to the state.

Speculators, through a subsidized press and concerted action, attacked the validity of the post bellum series of bonds, and thus ran the price down to a minimum. After purchasing the bonds at a few cents on the dollar, as was done in many instances, they were presented to the state at their full value to discharge liens against other roads.

The state debt question now became a burning political issue, and gave rise to three distinct parties; (1) Those who wished to pay the "state debt proper" only; (2)those who desired to pay the entire debt in full—called the "Sky Blues," and (3) a class

between these two, that favored paying in full the state debt proper, but effecting an equitable compromise of the remainder.

The controversy over the settlement of the debt was the occasion of a Republican gubernatorial victory in 1880, the only executive of that political party in the state since the days of Brownlow and Senter to the present. At this time the Democrats split into two factions, the State Credit faction and the Low Tax Democrats. John V. Wright was nominated on a platform to settle the whole debt on a basis of fifty cents on the dollar with 4 per cent. added. Judge S. F. Wilson was nominated as an independent Democrat, and favored settling in full the state debt proper, and equitably adjusting the balance, since it was tainted with illegality. Hon. Alvin Hawkins, Republican, was elected.

Again in 1882 the battle raged about this question, and again the Democratic party was split. The regular Democracy nominated Gen. Wm. B. Bate, while the "Sky Blues" nominated Hon. J. H. Fussell. Governor Hawkins was a candidate to succeed himself.

General Bate was overwhelmingly elected, and under his administration the debt was settled, and thereafter removed from the arena of politics. The settlement was, the payment in full of the "state debt proper," including accrued interest, except during the war. This debt was admitted by all as valid, and included bonds issued before the war for the following purposes: State capitol, $493,000; Hermitage bonds, $35,000; agricultural bonds, $18,000; Union Bank, $125,000; Bank of Tennessee, $214,000; turnpike bonds, $741,000; Hiwassee R. R. bonds, $280,000; East Tennessee and Georgia R. R. bonds, $144,000; Memphis & La Grange R. R. bonds, $68,000; total, $2,118,000.

It was provided that the remaining indebtedness should be funded into 30-year 3 per cent. bonds for one-half the principal and accrued interest. The bonds held by schools and charitable institutions were exempted from this settlement, and refunded at full value.

At the time of the settlement of the state debt question, the debt, with interest, amounted to nearly $30,000,000. By the settlement under Governor Bate, the debt was reduced to about $16,500,000.

In 1899 the legislature passed the Sinking Fund Act, and since that time the debt has been retired at the rate of some half million dollars a year. At the present time (1908) the state debt is as follows: 4½ per cent. redemption bonds, $1,000,000; 4½ per cent. penitentiary bonds, $600,000; 3 per cent. settlement bonds, $9,994,300; 5 per cent. certificates of indebtedness held by charitable and educational institutions, $14,000; 6 per cent. certificates of indebtedness held by charitable and educational institutions, $656,000; total regular interest-bearing debt (1908), $12,214,300.

With her immense resources and an accumulating sinking fund, the credit of the state is "gilt edged," and the state debt will, within a few years, be entirely wiped out.

Education.

There is no more accurate test of the progress of a people than the development of the school system, and the support given to educational matters.

Tennessee has been called the "University State of the South" from the number of institutions of higher learning found in her midst. She now has a superb system of schools, public and private, and is preparing for yet greater progress in this direction in the near future. With such institutions as Vanderbilt University, Nashville, founded in 1875; Uni-

versity of Tennessee, Knoxville; University of the South, Sewanee; Cumberland University, Lebanon; Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville; Union University, Jackson; Carson and Newman College, Jefferson City; Grant University, Athens; Washington College, Salem; University of Nashville, and Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville; and many others, both for young men and young women, the need of Tennessee's students are well cared for. Nashville is already the greatest educational centre of the South, and annually thousands of young men and women gather there from all parts of the United States.

Among the institutions for negroes, established by religious denominations since the war, may be mentioned: Fisk University, Roger Williams University (recently burned), Central Tennessee College, and Knoxville College. Fisk University (Nashville) is the highest grade collegiate institution for negroes in the world (Merriam).

The present public school law was enacted in 1873, and although at first considered an experiment, has proven eminently successful. The permanent school fund amounts to the sum of $2,512,500, bearing 6 per cent. interest. In addition a state tax of fifteen cents on the $100 is levied, and where this amount is found insufficient to maintain the schools in any county for five months, the county courts are authorized to levy additional taxes to the same amount as the state. A direct appropriation of fifty cents per pupil—to be increased Jan. 1, 1909, to seventy-five cents per pupil is also made. Under this special appropriation, the state during 1908, paid for her schools the sum of $425,000.

In addition an appropriation was made by the legislature of 1907 of $100,000 to the State University; and of $250,000 to the Peabody College for

Teachers,—this latter appropriation, however, contingent upon the location at Nashville of the Peabody Educational Fund of $1,000,000 by the trustees of the Peabody Board.

The number of pupils in the public schools of Tennessee in 1870 was 89,000; in 1907-8, 773,380. The average number of school days has increased from 77 in 1870, to 117 in 1906-7.

Tennessee has a less percentage of illiterates than any other seceding state except Texas and Arkansas —in 1900 the per cent. being 14.1 for whites, and 41.6 for negroes. In 1907 the per cent. of illiterates, both races, was only 29.4. This is a gratifying situation compared with conditions thirty years ago when the increase in white illiterates for the decade from 1860-1870 was 50 per cent. The situation in 1870 was, in fact, alarming, when the commissioners would often, to relieve themselves of any responsibility, employ a few peripatetic teachers, wholly unfit oftentimes for the duties devolving on them, and suffer them to teach until the funds were exhausted, when school would be suspended until the following year, only to be taken up again in the same way for a month or two.

The white population of the state has increased during the past three decades about 50 per cent.; but the school enrollment to-day is, for whites alone, nearly 400,000, an increase of some 600 per cent.

Great impetus has been given to the cause of public education in Tennessee, especially within the past five or six years by an extensive propaganda on this subject. The people are alive to the great value of efficient schools, and are preparing for yet greater things.

General Growth and Resources.

Tennessee's advance has been great since the days of the sixties. In 1860 the census valuation of all

MOUNTAIN TIMBER IN TENNESSEE

TWO VIEWS OF MARBLE QUARRY NEAR KNOXVILLE, TENN.

property (excluding negroes) was $393,693,767. It is to be noted that this valuation was before the devastation of the war. The war reduced the value of farm products alone $114,414,354 (see *Handbook of Tennessee,* p. 19). The census report in 1900 gave a valuation of $887,956,143, and 1908 the value was in excess of one billion dollars. In 1900 there were more people owning their own homes in Tennessee than in any other Southern state, except Texas. There were more manufactories than in any other Southern state except Texas and Virginia; the value of her agricultural products stands sixteenth in the Union, and exceeds all the seceding states, except Texas. In the value of her manufacturing products she ranks twenty-fifth in the Union, and leads all the Southern states, except Louisiana, Texas and Virginia. More than 3,900 miles of railroads bring her in touch with the world, and afford an outlet for her vast products.

Every variety of soil to be found in the United States may be found in the state. Every crop grown in the Union, except the tropical fruits, may be profitably and successfully grown. Her mineral resources have hardly been touched, and include, among others: iron, coal, marble, copper, zinc, lead, limestone, sandstone, and phosphates. The first shipment of phosphate was made in 1894, when 19,188 tons, valued at $67,158, were shipped; in 1906, the shipment was 499,815 tons, and was valued at $1,852,840. This phosphate is found in middle Tennessee, mainly about Mt. Pleasant and Columbia. In 1906 Tennessee furnished 12.71 per cent. of the world's supply of phosphate.

In addition to her minerals, there are great forests covering thousands of square miles in the iron and other regions of the state. These forests contain many species of fine trees, especially hardwoods.

Tennessee has a number of large cities. The four largest are: Memphis, with a population of about 150,000; Nashville comes next with a population of about 125,000; Chattanooga and Knoxville each have about 50,000.

The population of the state in 1900 was 2,020,616, and in 1908 it was estimated safely at two and one-quarter millions. In 1860 the population was 1,109,801. In the forty-seven years since the beginning of the war Tennessee has doubled her population.

Conclusion.

Tennessee is one of the fairest jewels in the diadem of the Nation. Eight states touch her borders, and the mighty Mississippi sweeps by her western side, while other rivers of navigable size penetrate her fertile valleys. She is endowed with a balmy, salubrious climate, remarkable scenery, and a lavish abundance of fruits, minerals and timber. Her statesmen and patriots have not only honored her but the Nation, and their Anglo-Saxon principles are kept pure and intact, with a glorious history.

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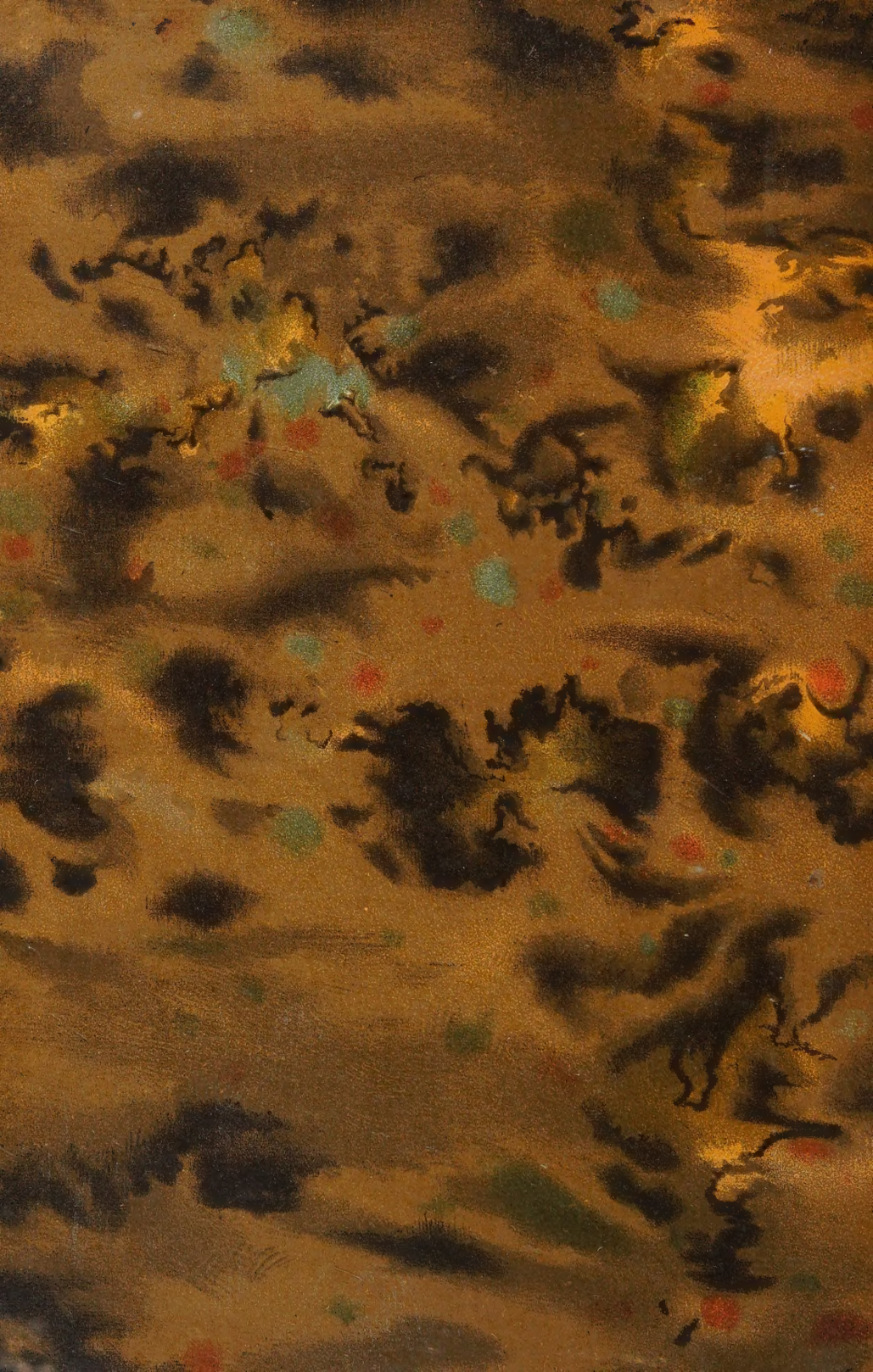
Carey A. Folk,

Assistant Treasurer of the State of Tennessee; formerly President of Boscobel College, Nashville.

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